Daily Report

East Europe

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Shkoder Under Army Control; Rioters Use Dynamite

AU1712175190 Paris AFP in English 1734 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Nicolas Miletitch report]

[Text] Shkoder, Albania, Dec 17 (AFP) — Soldiers on Monday [17 December] were guarding the Communist Party headquarters, the city hall and the radio station in Shkoder where Thursday's anti-communist riots left a string of looted stores and burned buildings.

Police in riot gear and soldiers carrying bayonetted rifles were patrolling the streets to dissuade any fresh outbreaks of trouble. The statue of Enver Hoxha, founder of Socialist Albania, which once stood in the city centre has gone. It came under a hail of stones before being finally dynamited by rioters.

In the city's main shopping street, most shops, restaurants, book-stores and chemists have broken windows. Newspaper stands lie burned and most of the museum's collection has been stolen. "Terrorists used guns and threw sticks of dynamite at policemen who were defending the Communist Party headquarters," a party spokesman Dashamir Dini told AFP. He said some people were using automatic weapons. Bullet marks can be seen all the way up to the third floor inside the Radio Shkoder building, which lost most of its windows on Thursday.

The radio's director Gezim Podgorica said rioters inflicted about 20,000 dollars-worth of damage. "Cables were cut and television equipment destroyed," he said. Mr. Dini said "the crowd, which included large numbers of drunks and criminals, looted at least 11 million leks-worth (more than a million dollars) of goods."

He said total damage amounted to more than 18.3 million leks (about 1.9 million dollars). Television sets, refrigerators and sewing machines were most sought after, he said, and clothes and shoe shops were also heavily looted.

About 40 people are currently being held in Shkoder's prison and the first trial for "sabotage and terrorism" will be held "in the next few days," Mr. Dini said. Those accused could face the death sentence. "These riots were not spontaneous. (The Yugoslav republic of) Serbia is behind these troubles together with foreign secret services which are against the democracy movement in Albania," he said. He also charged there was a "negative influence of American propaganda" on his country's citizens.

Officially, the riots left a dozen hurt, including two policeman seriously ill with stab wounds, and lasted seven hours. Mr. Dini said police only intervened at the last minute because "our aim was to avoid a bloodbath."

Last Tuesday President Ramiz Alia bowed to four days of student demonstrations in the country's capital, Tirana, and announced the legalization of opposition political parties. Following the announcement, the situation in Tirana calmed down but demonstrations and riots broke out in provincial towns and cities, notably Kavaje, Shkoder, Elbasan and Durres.

Travelers Report Situation 'Calm But Tense'

AU1712215490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] It is calm but tense in Albania, and there have been no more demonstrations. This is claimed by travelers who have come out of this country at the border crossing of (?Cafasan) near Struga. They say that all places up to the border are being protected by the Army and the police. Entrances to towns are being protected by Army units with tanks or armored vehicles.

The police are mainly distributed around many settlements. Burnt buses, trucks, and fire engines can still be seen in some places, as well as damaged buildings and shops.

Eyewitnesses have said that military units have totally blocked the buildings of the General Staff and Radio and Television Tirana.

Students Demand Release of Political Prisoners

AU1812092790 Paris AFP in English 0910 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, Dec 18 (AFP)—A thousand students assembled in front of the fine arts institute in Tirana on Monday night to demand the release of all political prisoners in Albania and the legalisation of the opposition Democratic Party, the dean of the faculty of philosophy Ardian Klozi told AFP on Tuesday.

The students also demanded that elections planned for next February be put back to give them time to organise.

They further wanted a statue of Stalin, "democracy's worst enemy", to be removed from central Tirana and replaced with one of the priest Fan Noli, Albania's first democratic president.

Other demands, more radical than those of the Democratic Party, were for the suppression of regional committees of the communist party on the grounds of incompetence and for President Ramiz Alia to hold roundtable talks with the most respected Albanian intellectuals. They also wanted improvements in basic day-to-day living standards.

It was a shortage of sugar and persistent power cuts which sparked off the student protest movement on December 9, which soon turned into a political groundswell attracting crowds of up to 60,000 to the university campus.

President Ramiz Alia's announcement two days later authorising the setting up of a multiparty system appears to have calmed the situation in Tirana but unrest has spread to the provinces.

Rioting, with people injured and widescale property damage, has been reported from Shkoder, Kavaje, Durres and Elbasan.

The communist party daily ZERI I POPULLIT on Tuesday reported that two "terrorists", who were planning bomb attacks in Tirana, had been arrested. The two were named as H[illegible]sen Bici and Gjergi Gjikopulli. The paper said they were in possession of 25 grenades and 30 sticks of dynamite with detonators and fuses when they were arrested, one of them at Tirana and the other at Fieri, 150 kilometres (90 miles) south of the capital. It added that other people had been detained in possession of weapons.

On Sunday night warehouses at the Enver factory, named after the country's former strongman Enver Hoxha, were partially destroyed by fire, which the paper said was arson. It is unusual for such alarming reports to appear in Albania's tightly-controlled official press.

State radio reported that the Albanian leadership had decided to beef up security forces to prevent any repetition of recent events, without being more precise. According to the radio, 157 people were arrested in the rioting in the provinces for vandalism and terrorism, many of them persistent offenders "who have already been convicted as many as five or six times of the same crimes".

Democratic Party Head Urges Election Postponement

AU1712220090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] (?Gramosh Pashko), president of the Democratic Party of Albania, has announced in a telephone conversation with an ASSOCIATED PRESS journalist in Vienna that his party has asked that the multiparty elections scheduled for February next year be held several months later. The reason is the need for parties to prepare for the elections.

The leader of the first noncommunist party in Albania affirmed that he held talks yesterday with Prime Minister Carcani and that he had demanded that foreign journalists be allowed [words indistinct].

New Democratic Party Criticizes Government

AU1712094090 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0900 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] The situation in Albania has been gradually calming down. Tirana Radio claims that security organs are controlling the situation in most towns where there were demonstrations recently.

The newly founded oppositional Democratic Party of Albania has accused the government of refusing to contribute to calming the political (?insecurity) and of using unrest as an excuse to postpone the process of democratization and the introduction of a multiparty system.

The authorities announce that trials of demonstrators have already begun.

Government Starts Talks With Opposition

AU1712124190 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Albania—The government in Tirana has unexpectedly started talks with the opposition. Before that, tanks had been brought in position in several cities to suppress riots hostile to the government. Today or tomorrow the newly founded Democratic Party of Albania wants to present its program and its statutes in the Justice Ministry to be officially registered.

Carcani Meets Democratic Party Representatives

AU1712132890 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1300 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers, has met a group of representatives of the organizational body for the foundation of the Democratic Party. At this meeting, he said that he had received a report from the Ministry of Justice on the submission of documents for the (?registration) of the Democratic Party, and that these [words indistinct] on the creation of political organizations. [Passage indistinct].

[Words indistinct] the Initiating Commission of the Democratic Party. We dissociate ourselves from theses acts. [Words indistinct] because democracy must be extended only by democratic means. [Words indistinct]. The people have condemned these acts [words indistinct] that could lead to the country's destabilization.

Some people, the chairman of the Council of Ministers pointed out, have exploited these events. [Words indistinct]. In these events, the forces of public order behaved cool-headedly, and (?intervened) at the right time to protect order, property, and (?public) institutions. [Passage indistinct].

The representatives of the initiating commission for the creation of the Democratic Party told Prime Minister Adil Carcani that they condemn such illegal activities, and that they are for the path of dialogue they have presented in their program. During this talk, they also presented various demands for the speedy recognition of the party and the supply of the necessary material resources the party needs. Comrade Adil Carcani told them that a report had been sent to the Ministry of Justice and the competent organs for the fulfillment of these demands.

Alia Chairs Meeting of Constitutional Commission

AU1712193490 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] The special commission to consider changes and additions to the Constitution met this morning under its

chairman, Comrade Ramiz Alia. The commission continued its [word indistinct] examination and discussion of draft changes to the Constitution.

Central Electoral Commission Composition Announced

AU1712152790 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 13 Dec 90 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Decree on the Composition of the Central Electoral Commission for the 12th Legislature of the People's Assembly"]

[Text] On the basis of Article 78 of the Constitution and Article 16 of Law No. 7423 of 13 November 1990, "On Elections to the People's Assembly," the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania decrees:

The composition of the Central Electoral Commission for the 12th Legislature of the People's Assembly has been approved as follows:

1. Rexhep Mejdani, chairman (dean of the Faculty of Natural Sciences, professor doctor).
2. Dashamir Kore, deputy chairman (deputy minister of justice).
3. Aleks Luarasi, secretary (deputy dean of the Faculty of Political and Legal Sciences, senior lecturer).
4. Arqile Naqellari, member (director of the 24 May Agricultural Enterprise in Permet, hero of socialist labor).
5. Dhimiter Anagnosti, member (film director, people's artist).
6. Jup Kastrati, member (lecturer at the Shkoder Pedagogical Institute, professor doctor).
7. Kujtim Bejtja, member (director of Banje Hydroelectric Power Station).
8. Leka Shkurti, member (secretary to the General Council of the Democratic Front of Albania).
9. Myqerem Fuga, member (secretary to the National War Veterans Committee).
10. Mimoza Jaze, member (secretary to the Central Committee of the Albanian Union of Working Youth).
11. Ndricim Karakashi, member (deputy chief of the General Staff of the People's Army).
12. Pranvera Bogdani, member (deputy president of the General Council of the Albanian Women's Union).
13. Strati Marko, member (secretary to the General Council of the Trade Unions of Albania).

Tirana, 1 December 1990.

No. of decree: 348.

For the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania: Ramiz Alia, president; Sihat Tozaj, secretary.

Alia Receives Kosovo Human Rights Activist Cana

AU1512203090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia received the distinguished Kosovar academic and social activist Professor Zekeria Cana at the seat of the Presidium of the People's Assembly this afternoon. At this meeting, they held a warm and friendly conversation. Professor Zekeria Cana spoke about the situation in Kosovo and the steadfast struggle the Albanians are waging to win their democratic and national rights.

Comrade Ramiz Alia said that our people will unswervingly support the inalienable and legitimate rights of our Kosovar brothers. Our stand regarding the issue of Kosovo and the Albanians in Yugoslavia, he added, is that which I also expressed in name of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania at this year's meeting of the UN General Assembly. I also stated this view openly and unequivocally to Budimir Loncar, SFRY federal secretary for foreign affairs, at my meeting with him after the meeting of the Balkan foreign ministers in Tirana.

For his part, Professor Zekeria Cana thanked Comrade Ramiz Alia for the support given by the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in all situations and under whatever circumstances to the cause of the Kosovars' legitimate rights.

European Parliament Delegation Visits

AU1712214090 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 2100 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] A delegation of the European Parliament headed by Alexander Langer, member of the Parliament's Political Commission, paid a visit to our country from 11-17 December 1990. During its visit, the delegation met various political personalities from the People's Assembly, law, education, and culture, and with journalists and others. The delegation of the European Parliament acquainted itself with current developments in our country, the process of democratic transformation, the changes that have taken and are taking place in the legislation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, and the foreign policies of the Albanian Government, especially regarding relations with neighboring countries and the process of Balkan cooperation, cooperation with the countries of Europe, the CSCE, etc.

Alexander Langer and those accompanying him made contact with representatives of the initiators of the Democratic Party, students and lecturers, intellectuals, and particular individuals. The delegation of the European Parliament positively assessed its contacts and talks and the process of democratization in our country.

Foreign Minister Malile Continues Visit to Cuba

Continues Talks With Malmierca

AU1212181190 Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 12 (ATA)—On December 10, negotiations were conducted between the foreign minister of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile and the foreign minister of the Republic of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca.

The two ministers assessed the positive steps taken over the recent years in the relations between the two countries and the intensification of bilateral contacts and cooperation in various fields of mutual interest, which contribute to the constant strengthening of friendship between the Albanian people and Cuban one.

They voiced the common desire and readiness of the governments of the two countries to promote and intensify these relations in various fields, particularly in the fields of economy, trade, agriculture, technique, science, culture, health service, public information, naval transport, etc.

The Albanian foreign minister acquainted his counterpart with the successful conclusion of the second conference of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries, held in Tirana in October this year, and underlined that Albania will continue to contribute to the understanding and strengthening of cooperation between the peoples and states of the Balkans, to the good of peace and security in Europe and in the world.

He voiced the support of our country for the endeavours of the peoples and countries of Latin America for national independence and sovereignty, for equality and justice in the international relations.

The Cuban foreign minister pointed to the support of the Cuban people and government for the peoples and countries of the region, in defence of their national rights and interests. He assessed Albania's policy to the good of the strengthening of understanding and relations of good neighbourliness in the Balkans and its contribution to the security and cooperation in Europe.

The foreign minister of the Republic of Cuba, Isidoro Malmierca, gave an official dinner on December 10 in honour of the foreign minister of the PSR of Albania, Reis Malile.

In the course of the dinner, which passed in a friendly atmosphere, the two ministers exchanged speeches, through which they expressed the desire of the two parties to further strengthen the friendly relations and cooperation in various fields of mutual interest.

Meets Soto, Cabrisas, Melendez

AU1212181490 Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 12 (ATA)—Lionel Soto, vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Cuba, received on December 10 afternoon, the Albanian foreign minister, Reis Malile, who is on an official and friendly visit in Havana. At this meeting they spoke on the concrete possibilities existing for the further deepening of the friendly relations and bilateral cooperation in various fields.

On December 10 too, Comrade Reis Malile met with the minister of foreign trade of Cuba, Ricardo Cabrisas, with whom he talked on the development of Albanian-Cuban trade relations and the perspectives of intensifying them in the future. On December 10 evening, Ernesto Melendez, minister, chairman of the Cuban State Committee on Economic Cooperation, received the Albanian foreign minister. He had a talk on the exchange of experience and the roads of strengthening the economic and technical-scientific cooperation between Albania and Cuba.

The meetings were held in a constructive and friendly spirit.

Meets Castro at Embassy Reception

AU1312144490 Tirana ATA in English 0920 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 13 (ATA)—On occasion of the visit of the minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, to the Republic of Cuba, the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania in Havana, Clirim Cepani, gave a reception at the seat of the embassy. The reception was attended by the chairman of the council of state and government of Cuba, Fidel Castro, and other senior personalities of the country.

On this occasion, Fidel Castro had a warm and friendly talk with Comrade Reis Malile. The Cuban leader voiced his satisfaction over this visit, which will contribute to the further development of bilateral friendship and cooperation. "The Cuban people cherish special respect and sympathy for the brave Albanian one, this militant people who are determined to defend the freedom and independence of their homeland," Fidel Castro underlined.

The foreign minister of Albania, Reis Malile, conveyed to the head of the Cuban state the greetings of the chairman of the Presidum of the People's Assembly of the PSRA, Comrade Ramiz Alia. He evaluated the hitherto steps in the friendly relations and cooperation between our two countries.

Fidel Castro asked the Albanian minister to convey to the leader of the Albanian people his warm greetings and expressed the wish and conviction that Albania will further develop and will march always ahead.

Alia, Carcani Exchange Greetings With Castro

AU1412170390 Tirana ATA in English 1025 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 14 (ATA)—Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, sent the following message of greetings to the chairman of the State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro Ruz:

"On occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Republic of Cuba, on behalf of the people, the Presidium of the People's Assembly, government and in our names, it is our pleasure to send you and through you to the friendly Cuban people the cordial greetings.

We express our conviction that on the basis of the so far achievements, the friendly cooperation between our two countries will develop and strengthen constantly, to the common good and peace.

We wish your people further successes at work for the happiness and prosperity of the homeland."

Likewise the chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Comrade Ramiz Alia and the chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Comrade Adil Carcani, received the following message of greetings from the chairman of the State Council and Government of the Republic of Cuba, Fidel Castro Ruz:

"On occasion of the 30th anniversary of the establishment of the diplomatic relations between the Republic of Cuba and the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on behalf of the Cuban people and Government, it is my pleasure to convey to you the fraternal and warm greetings.

We assess with pleasure the level we have attained in our relations and are sure that they will continue to strengthen in the future to the good of our two peoples.

I avail myself of the happy occasion to wish you greater successes in your high responsible posts and to express the sincere wishes for the well-being of the Albanian people.

With my esteem consideration."

Malile Visits Mexico, Talks With Solana

AU1512155590 Tirana ATA in English 1022 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 15 (ATA)—On December 13, Reis Malile, minister for foreign affairs, left the Republic of Cuba and went on a one-day visit to the United States of Mexico. There he met with the foreign minister of the United States of Mexico, Fernando Solana. In the course of the negotiations between the two ministers they pointed to the importance the Albanian government and Mexican government devote to the development of traditional friendly relations between the two countries and the further strengthening of bilateral cooperation.

The two ministers underscored particularly the importance of cooperation in the field of oil extraction and processing, particularly regarding oil researches in open sea.

The two ministers voiced their readiness to continue the contacts and dialogue between the two countries.

Comrade Reis Malile acquainted his Mexican counterpart with the development of the processes of democratization in Albania in all the walks. He dwelt particularly on the foreign policy of our country.

The foreign minister of Mexico, Fernando Solana, expressed the full support of his country for the serious endeavours and commitment of the Albanian government to become CSCE member with full rights and laid the stress on its contribution to the process of Balkan cooperation and understanding. Regarding the process of democratization, Fernando Solana also pointed to the fact that Mexico too is swept over in the new democratic processes.

In these talks the two foreign ministers also discussed on the problems of the current international situation .

Reis Malile invited the minister for foreign affairs of Mexico to visit Albania and he accepted the invitation with pleasure .

Attending this activity which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere was also Gezim Arapi, Albanian ambassador in Mexico.

Meets With Mexican Senators

AU1512155690 Tirana ATA in English 1027 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 15 (ATA)—On December 14, the foreign minister of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, was received by the chairman of the Senate of the Mexican United States, Emilio Gonzalez. Attending this meeting was also the presidency of this senate. In the talk held on the occasion, the Albanian foreign minister acquainted him with the development of the process of the democratization of the whole life of the country as well as with its foreign policy. He pointed to the profound and sincere friendly sentiments the Albanian people cherish for the people of friendly Mexico. An important field to promote this friendship is the strengthening of the relations between the two parliaments and the exchange of parliamentarians' delegations as direct representatives of peoples, he said .

The chairman of Mexico's Senate, Emilio Gonzalez, expressed his support for this cooperation and thanked for the very warm reception extended to a group of Mexican senators during their visit to Albania last September. The chairman of the Mexican Senate, on behalf

of all the senators and Mexico's parliament, expressed his best wishes and greetings for President Ramiz Alia and the Albanian people.

Malile Visits Argentina, Talks With Cavallo

AU1612134590 Tirana ATA in English 1020 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Tirana, December 16 (ATA)—The minister of foreign affairs of the PSR [People's Socialist Republic] of Albania, Reis Malile, wound up his visit to Mexico on December 15 and on the same day arrived in the Republic of Argentina on an official and friendly visit at the invitation of the minister of foreign affairs, Domingo Cavallo. After bidding him welcome and expressing the satisfaction over his meeting with Reis Malile, the minister of foreign affairs of Argentina pointed out that this visit is an important step in the friendly relations existing between our two peoples and countries. It will contribute to forge ahead and deepen the mutual beneficial cooperation in various domains especially in the economic, technical-scientific and cultural fields. He voiced the desire and readiness of the Argentinian government to promote these relations of bilateral cooperation.

Domingo Cavallo spoke also on some problems of the current political, economic and social situation of Argentina and on some aspects of its foreign policy.

On his part the Albanian minister of foreign affairs, Reis Malile, said that the good traditional relations between Albania and Argentina develop in a friendly way. Numerous are the possibilities to strengthen and extend them in all fields especially the economic technical-scientific ones. An important role to this end is played also by the deepening of the political dialogue to which this visit serves as well as the continuous contacts between the two countries. An important role in the friendship between Albania and Argentina is played also by the Albanian compatriots, who have found a hospitable country and live and work like brothers with the Argentinian people. I am convinced, he said, that joint will exists to forge them forward. In this way geographical distances between our two states are reduced.

Then the Albanian foreign minister briefed his Argentinian counterpart on the incessant deepening of the reforms and of the process of democratisation in our country, which has ushered a new stage. These processes are irreversible, Reis Malile pointed out.

The Argentinian foreign minister, Domingo Cavallo, appreciated this policy pursued by our country and underlined that the government of Argentina "supports these wise and mature processes President Alia is pursuing and which are to the benefit of the prosperity of the Albanian friendly people and of Albania's contemporary development."

Likewise, Comrade Reis Malile informed his Argentinian counterpart of Albania's serious commitment to the Conference of Security and Cooperation in Europe and the successful conduct of the second meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan states, held in Tirana in October this year. Domingo Cavallo hailed Albania's stand to acquire full membership of the CSCE and its contribution to intensify Balkan cooperation and understanding and of the good- neighbourly relations.

Reis Malile invited the minister of foreign affairs of Argentina, Domingo Cavallo to pay an official visit to Albania. The invitation was accepted with satisfaction. Present were also Albanian ambassador in Buenos Aires, Pirro Andoni and Argentina's ambassador in Tirana, Barttfeld.

Popov Announces Agreement on New Government

Members To Be Announced 19 Dec

AU1712193090 Paris AFP in English 1914 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Dec (AFP) — Bulgaria's main political parties have reached agreement on a transition government in the lead-up to general elections scheduled for May, Prime Minister Dimitur Popov announced Monday [17 December].

Mr. Popov, who was named as premier last month following a wave of unrest, said agreement on the make-up of the transition government had been reached between the ruling Socialist Party (former communists) and the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS].

In a televised announcement, he said the two parties had agreed to share the eight main cabinet ministries, including foreign affairs, justice, and finance, but gave no details of who would take what.

Mr. Popov is to reveal his new cabinet to parliament Wednesday [19 December].

Press Carries Popov TV Statement

AU1812115690 Sofia BTA in English 0801 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA)—All newspapers publish the statements made on the national television last night by Dimitur Popov, who is to form the new cabinet. Popov said that the political forces had worked out a plan for the distribution of the key ministries in the new cabinet.

In an interview for ZEMYA an official of the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP) announces the BSP stand on the key issue—the Ministry of the Interior. According to Mrs. Elena Poptodorova, a spokeswoman for the BSP parliamentary faction, the minister of the interior should be a member of the BSP, and the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] would appoint a deputy prime minister who would supervise the work of this ministry.

DEMOKRATSIYA informs about the two variants which are being discussed by the UDF leadership—either an opposition minister of the interior or a minister not affiliated to any party, but appointed and approved by the UDF.

Talks To Continue on Post of Interior Minister

AU1812131490 Sofia BTA in English 1253 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Sofia, 18 Dec (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) [SDS] is determined not to make a compromise on the Ministry of the Interior.

At a meeting of the UDF Coordinating Council this morning all the parties and organizations firmly stated that the Ministry of the Interior should be headed by a representative of the opposition. [passage omitted]

The negotiations on the new cabinet will continue today in the afternoon. The UDF Coordinating Council members differ in their opinion as to the final outcome of the talks. A member of the opposition, who is taking part in the consultations, says that Mr. Dimitur Popov might present his list of nominations in parliament tomorrow without nominating the minister of the interior. But this would be acceptable only if there is some progress in the talks and if the BSP, showing some common sense, makes a compromise on the Ministry of the Interior, he added.

SDS Reportedly Against Compromise

AU1712171890 Sofia BTA in English 1627 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Dec (BTA)—Most of the parties within the Union of Democratic Forces (SDS) are unwilling to make a compromise on the Ministry of the Interior. They insist that the minister of the interior should either be a SDS member or a non-party member who would be nominated by the SDS, it was repeated today at the regular SDS briefing.

Three big parties: the Social Democratic Party, the Democratic Party and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party, are ready to make a compromise.

Tomorrow the opposition will decide whether a compromise would be made through a special ballot in the Coordinating Council.

Six parties are against President Zhelev's idea announced on the National Television last night to appoint secretaries of state who, together with the respective ministers, would be in charge of the Ministry of the Interior and the Defense Ministry. The two ministries would be also controlled by a special deputy of the prime minister.

The SDS members believe that the political forces' agreement endorsed on Friday last week gives the green light to Mr. Popov to form a new cabinet. The Radical Democrats and the members of the Green Party who had made a minute of dissent explained their reservations with the parliament's busy legislative program and with their desire to hold the new parliamentary elections before May-June.

It became known that the Podkrepa Labor Confederation would not sign the agreement. "This is an agreement between the political forces," Mr. Doncho Ivanov, Podkrepa's vice president, told a BTA reporter. "Besides, Podkrepa has certain reservations concerning the text of the agreement," he said. Mr. Ivanov also pointed out that the agreement does not provide any guarantees that the people who took part in the Podkrepa general strike demanding Mr. Lukanov's resignation would not be persecuted.

Popov Discusses Government's Priorities, Tasks

AU1412231790 Sofia VECHERNI NOVINI in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with Prime Minister Dimitur Popov by Boryana Kostova; place and date not given: "I Would Like to Form A Government Composed of Competent People"; first paragraph is VECHERNI NOVINI introduction]

[Text] According to the Bulgarian Constitution, Mr. Dimitur Popov is still a candidate for the post of Bulgarian prime minister. However, if we consider the great parliamentary majority which voted for him on Friday, 7 December, and entrusted him with forming a new cabinet, we have reasons to congratulate the future prime minister. What should we expect from Mr. Popov's cabinet? We tried to obtain an answer to this question in the following, short, special interview for the daily VECHERNI NOVINI.

[Kostova] Just like your predecessor you are also talking about forming a strong government. What, exactly do you have in mind?

[Popov] That it should be a government composed of reliable figures representing the existing political forces both within and outside the parliament and that they should be capable professionals. I would like to appoint competent people who enjoy a lofty social prestige, and are distinguished by great knowledge, experience, talent, and professional qualifications based on productive work.

[Kostova] How do you evaluate the mission of the new government? Will it be capable shortly after its creation to resolve the basic and most crucial problems of our country's economic development?

[Popov] As far as the government's specific tasks are concerned, I consider them to be in the three following spheres: In the first place the government should implement some initial, but substantial changes based on the decision of the Grand National Assembly. In the economic sphere the government should create prerequisites for the implementation and application of the market economy principles. In the second place, the government should contribute to the adoption of specific laws representing the legal basis for the introduction of market economy, and what is particularly important, the government should provide guarantees for foreign investments in our country. In the third place, we should implement a program which I would call a minimum program, likely to halt the process of rapid decline, so that we might be prevented from reaching a total breakdown. The most important requirement today is the stabilization of our economic, social, and political life that should serve as a stepping stone for a gradual upsurge.

I am ready to borrow the most essential elements from all programs submitted so far, as long as they can be implemented at the present stage of development. I am not linked to any specific programs, or doctrines. I am not committed to any political figures, or parties, this, I think, gives me more freedom in my work.

Zhelev Discusses Popov's Qualifications, Direction

AU1812074990 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 8 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with President Zhelyu Zhelev by Silvia Stefanova at the Grand National Assembly in Sofia on 7 December: ""Politics Is the Art of Possible""; first paragraph is DEMOKRATSIYA introduction:]

[Text] Will Dimitur Popov be capable of forming a government? Only a few minutes following the Grand National Assembly's vote of confidence, President Zhelyu Zhelev gave an interview to the daily DEMOKRATSIYA.

[Stefanova] Mr. President, in your opinion, what are the secret political motivations for proposing Dimitur Popov's as candidate for the post of prime minister?

[Zhelev] Why should they be secret? The motivations are quite evident. It is simply a fact that at this stage of development the only eligible government is a cabinet which to one or another extent reflects the nationwide interests and which should be neutral as regards the party and political partialities of the different groups. All efforts to set up a different kind of government proved impossible.

[Stefanova] Numerous people who are not familiar with politics will ask themselves whether it was worth it to overthrow Lukanov's government (who also proposed the formation of a multiparty cabinet) to replace it with a government formed by Dimitur Popov.

[Zhelev] What does it mean: Was it worth it? This was an event that happened. It was the result of the correlation of political forces in parliament and outside parliament. The question of Lukanov's resignation was not the result of the strikes—considering that the problem emerged much earlier and the reason for the resignation was the lack of support by the other side. Lukanov was supposed to accomplish reforms with a single-party cabinet without the support of the opposition and of the trade unions. This determined the government's resignation irrespective of the prime minister's personal qualifications.

[Stefanova] Can we assume that the formation of the new cabinet represents a step forward in the development of the democratic process?

[Zhelev] I definitely think that it is the case. Unfortunately, some people do not realize this fact. Many supporters of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP] consider the formation of the new government as a coup against their party. The Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] on the other hand, understand it as a great compromise. At this stage, however, there is no other possibility. Politics is the art of the possible.

[Stefanova] What is your personal opinion? Which of Dimitur Popov's qualities make him indispensable for Bulgaria?

[Zhelev] I would mention his ability to maintain the equilibrium, for reconciliation, for unifying different and even opposing points of view, for example. This is very important at the present stage and under the present balance of forces, considering the existing political formations which are expected to join this government. Dimitur Popov manifested his qualities as a public figure in the election campaign and during the elections to one, or to another extent.

[Stefanova] Yes, but the work of the Central Electoral Commission was somewhat controversial, to put it mildly.

[Zhelev] Considering the kind of elections that took place, criticism against the Central Electoral Commission was inevitable. Personally I am well acquainted with Popov, and I think that he always succeeded in maintaining the equilibrium, whenever controversial situations emerged during process of preparing the elections.

[Stefanova] If it is not a secret, could you tell us who proposed Popov's nomination?

[Zhelev] This question is absolutely irrelevant. The important thing is that the nomination was unanimously accepted.

Interpretation of Zhelev Radio Interview Corrected

AU1512152090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 0900 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Statement on telephone by presidential spokesman Ivaylo Trifonov made "a short while ago" in Sofia—recorded]

[Text] In connection with the reports and commentaries in the mass media on the interview which President Dr. Zhelyu Zhelev gave to a Radio Sofia correspondent, I am authorized to announce the following:

Mr. Zhelev was acquainted with the file of Mr. Beron by the internal affairs minister personally and in his presence, it was done in the presence of the minister of internal affairs. No file of any political figure was presented in the Presidency of the Republic in the presence of any of the colleagues of the Republic's president.

The interpretation that Dr. Zhelev acquainted Mr. Beron personally with his file does not correspond to the truth. This is simply an incorrect interpretation of the statement made by the president of the Republic.

The president of the Republic considers that the only organ which should deal with this national issue is the parliament, in the form of the parliamentary commission set up by parliament to deal with this issue, according to the procedures approved by the Grand National Assembly.

Beron Interviewed on Personal Files Affair

AU1712192190 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with Petur Beron, former chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces Coordinating Council, by Irina Yordanova and Georgi Koritarov on 6 December in Sofia: ""I Feel Neither Guilty Nor Disgraced""; first paragraph is DEMOKRATSIYA introduction]

[Text] Yesterday, Petur Beron entered parliament holding a bunch of flowers. Our not very festive interview started with the flowers.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Who gave you this bouquet, if it is not a secret.

[Beron] It was presented to me outside, in the street, by a very nice family called Marinov. I do not know them, but they added a card on which they wrote that they love me and have confidence in me.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Did you get similar "messages" following your return from Budapest?

[Beron] Throughout the last three days my wife answered dozens of telephone calls. On my return many people called me. They all expressed their support and sympathy.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] What kind of people are they—friends, or enemies?

[Beron] Most of them were SDS supporters and some of them were my personal friends, or acquaintances from the past, whom I have not met for a long time. When a man is considered to be in distress, true friends are few and you become aware of people's true nature.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Do you feel like a man who is in distress?

[Beron] No. I have always been aware of what I am doing and why I am doing it. What I did was necessary for the security of the state and for the people of my entourage, who might have become victims of slander had the information about them been provided from other sources.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] What kind of information were you requested to provide?

[Beron] The State Security people who were responsible for the institute where I worked asked me to provide information on the movement [dvizhenieto] of scientific information provided by foreigners who visited the institute. I deliberately declared that I prefer to provide this information, rather than entrust some of my colleagues with this task. I wanted them [the State Security

people] to receive only the information which I considered appropriate to provide.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Does this mean that you omitted several things in your reports?

[Beron] Naturally, I omitted everything that I considered likely to discredit someone, as long as it did not threaten the security of the state. My reports never contained anything whatsoever that was likely to discredit anyone. They never contained anything likely to damage individuals or institutions.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] When did you start providing information and did you know exactly what the services that contacted you represented?

[Beron] I started in 1968. I did not know anything about the existence of the Sixth Department and I did know what it dealt with. I think that the people who contacted me belonged to some department in charge of counterespionage.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Could you cite any names?

[Beron] I cannot do so. I am not Trenchev and I cannot disclose information which is a state secret in my view.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Nevertheless, you know such names?

[Beron] Yes, I know some, but I do not know whether they are real names.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Were you the only one who was asked to provide information at the time of the Ecoforum, and how did they "use" you?

[Beron] It is ridiculous to say that I was "used." In those days such people came to all Ecoglasnost leaders every day. They did not come only to me. You can ask Slabakov, Karakachanov, Gaytandzhiev, and the others. We were even amused by that and told each other about the "visits." Ecoglasnost has never been a secret organization. Its activities were public. In addition to this, our meetings were always attended by 60-70 people who did not know each other. There should have been no problem for the secret services to learn whatever they wanted.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] According to you, where is the borderline betweeen serving a state and serving a party?

[Beron] I am against serving a party. I have always been a convinced opponent of any party affiliations. As far as communism is concerned, I have known since my early youth that this is an erroneous utopia as a theory and a criminal method of acting in its practical application. I have declared this every day throughout several decades. I never said or wrote a positive word about communism to this day. We must clearly distinguish between the concepts. I have never served the Bulgarian Communist Party [BCP]. I was only concerned with the security of our state. Our country will also need security in the future, namely the security of the state, and not a State Security. I understand the term "security of the state" to include the fight against terrorism, drugs, and counterespionage.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] Your resignation from your two posts within the SDS were accepted today. Were any objections raised against your resignation?

[Beron] There were no public objections. However, in private conversations many of those attending [the SDS meeting] told me so and shook my hand. If someone else had been in my place, I would not have hesitated to say a few kind words in his defense. I think that many people are suffering from some psychosis of fear.

[DEMOKRATSIYA] There are rumors that you intend to give up your seat in parliament. Is it true?

[Beron] No. I have no such intentions. I feel neither so guilty, nor so disgraced that I would take such a step.

Accuses Zhelev of Discrediting Him

AU1712152690 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Aglaya Shamlieva report on Union of Democratic Forces weekly news conference on 17 December; place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] Who should head the Ministry of Internal Affairs? This is a crucial question for the SDS, as crucial as establishing a ministry on eliminating the totalitarian structure in Bulgaria. This was the main topic of today's news conference. It became clear that most of the parties in the SDS do not accept any another variant than an SDS minister of internal affairs.

The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party and the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian National Union are inclined to seek a compromise. The final opinion of the SDS Coordinating Council will be published after its meeting tomorrow.

Now let us look at the variants. The formula according to which the First and Second Department should be removed from the ministry's structure, was not supported. The proposal to transfer the Department on the Protection of the Constitution to the Presidency, also was rejected. The third variant was the "sandwich proposal"—a minister of one of the political parties, squeezed between a state secretary and a deputy minister from the other political giant. We will know on Wednesday [19 December] whether this will be the Bulgarian variant. [passage omitted]

The journalists also heard a declaration by Petur Beron, the most controversial figure in our political life in recent weeks. I personally expected the declaration to give a specific and clear answer to the question whether Beron has had a commitment to the Secret Service, and what precisely this commitment was. The declaration

had a different character and direction. Here is the declaration without any abbreviations:

[Beron] I must speak about the affair with the personal files, or more precisely, the file, because it is only my file that was mentioned. It has not even been seen by anyone, including myself.

The provocateur Trenchev said yesterday that he has fulfilled his part of the program, and that any further questions about the file should be addressed to the president. He said this yesterday on television.

Today I read in DUMA the rest of the statement of this Bulgarian Herostratos. In it he asks that the insults "liar, slanderer, and scoundrel," addressed at him, be addressed to the president, who should deal with the matter. The case is closed, he said.

Yes, the case is closed. The entire development of the events last week showed that the hand that holds the wretched tool, Trenchev, is in the Presidency. Of course, I cannot address to the president the insults Trenchev suggests, and which fully suit Trenchev himself. However, I must ask certain questions, prompted by the president's activity.

I have always loved and respected Zhelyu Zhelev, and tried to help him in any way possible. However, I would like to ask him first why was it necessary to conduct this campaign against me, and why precisely now? How did I disturb him or his close circle? The explanation that this was done for the sake of our ranks' purity is insolvent. He only dealt with my file, or more precisely, with the version showed to him by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I have never seen the file that the president has requested from the minister of internal affairs. One could put anything in this file and assign it to any of the State Security departments.

Dr. Zhelev really informed me that he acquainted himself with this file, but only after he told many people about its contents which is a violation of the law. DUMA explicitly said that Dr. Zhelev acquainted himself with the file in my presence. Subsequently this was denied by the president. Who is lying?

The explanation that the reason for the whole affair was the chance that I would become prime minister is ridiculous. The president proposes the prime minister and Dr. Zhelev could simply refrain from proposing me.

Second, why after I resigned from my posts did Dr. Zhelev continue to give additional explanations and interviews? Obviously, his goal was not only to remove me, but to thoroughly discredit me. He will not succeed in this attempt. In recent days I received several hundred letters and phone calls, all of which, without exception, expressed support for my cause. Entire collectives are collecting signatures against this repulsive provocation, obviously directed against the SDS. Now, when it is clear that everything was patched up with white or rather red thread, even if they show my picture with the cut-off heads of the Tsar's family, the people will not believe it. They understood that this was a provocation.

Thus I ask myself, why did Dr. Zhelev become a tool of the dark forces aimed against the organization that he himself created and on behalf of which he made so many efforts. The issue in question is not Petur Beron's fate. Something much more serious is at stake. DEMOKRATSIYA already said that this is a large-scale collusion aimed at discrediting the opposition. What is still unclear is which of the old and young Communists who found refuge in the Presidency are a part of and tools of this collusion. However, the president should have stayed away, rather than participate in an activity which is humiliating for a head of state.

As far as those who for their personal benefit became slanderers—I leave the issue to their conscience.

Thus, the Bulgarian Van Der Lube [the person who set fire to the German Reichstag in 1933] was found. This is Trenchev-Herostratos. The people understood what hand activated him, although the brain behind the hand remains anonymous, at least for me. However, I would like to appeal to all those who support the SDS and wish success to Bulgaria's democracy, to avoid falling into the hands of the provocateurs. The snake bites most terribly when it dies.

Let us not annihilate each other with our own hands, and thus make the Communist Party and other forces happy. The SDS personifies the hope of the Bulgarian people and we cannot afford a split. I would appeal to Dr. Zhelev to behave as a president, the first democratically elected president, who we all respect.

SDS Deputy Chairman Dimitrov on Personal Files

AU1812080390 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 8 Dec 90 p 8

[Interview with Filip Dimitrov, deputy chairman of the Union of Democratic Forces Coordinating Council, by Milen Georgiev; place and date not given]

[Text] [Georgiev] Mr. Dimitrov, will the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] recover after the "blow" caused by Mr. Beron's case?

[Dimitrov] You are almost talking like a representative of the Bulgarian Socialist Party [BSP]. I think that it is the ruling party's wishful thinking that the SDS should suffer a severe blow. The fall of Mr. Lukanov and his government knocked the BSP down and while it fell on one knee it tried to rise again by attacking. The BSP selected Mr. Beron as its target because he is an uncontroversial and universally popular figure, a man who not only opposed communism, but did this with ardor, with eloquent gestures, with a sharp tongue, and with passion. Generally speaking, he was the man whom everybody trusted. In addition to this, he was the born leader and a symbol of the opposition. However, this is only the first

impression. At second glance, we may perceive a somewhat different meaning of the whole affair.

Everyone knows who created the personal files, who is keeping them, who is using them. Naturally, it is evident who can produce the files whenever he needs them. Files are not coming out in the street by themselves. Someone must at least produce them and spread them among the public. I ask you: Would the files of loyal informers be produced and emerge in broad daylight? I have my doubts about that. Only the files of those who did not actually serve the secret services, or who tried to extricate themselves, or just stopped serving because they changed their opinions, are being published. Is this not cunning? Not those who are supporters of the Communist State Security, but those who are against it are being accused.

Those who have always been loyal supporters of communism and real informers, who have always been in favor of spying—they are pointing their finger at those who have distanced themselves from informers' activities and call them dishonest. This is the nature of communism. It used to punish people for their past thoughts, for their past behavior, and even for events which occurred before they were born. This shows the extent to which totalitarian power still exists.

[Georgiev] Why did Mr. Beron resign under these circumstances?

[Dimitrov] Mr. Beron had other reasons for doing so. Naturally, the campaign which was fanned made us forget all those facts.

Anyone who is familiar with Mr. Beron's activities as SDS leader over the last year realizes how much he has done for the opposition. When he declares today that he has always been an anti-communist there is no reason to doubt his words. You know that the Holy Scripture says: "You will recognize them by their deeds." It means that we should not judge people according to their files. People love Mr. Beron (therefore many of them are genuinely distressed), and the people do not often err when they love someone.

Another question is that he [Beron] was too careless, I would even say naive in permitting his opponents to take advantage of the opportunity to launch a campaign against him. They acted against the SDS chairman and against one of the SDS symbols, thus attacking the SDS itself. I presume that this is what affected Beron's prestige as a politician, although it might be understandable for Beron as a human being.

[Georgiev] Do you assume that the SDS rating will drop as a result of such events?

[Dimitrov] It might temporarily drop. People are justifiably confused by such situations and the propaganda is also very extensive. Everyone sees informers in all places, as if this could change the nature of the SDS under any aspect whatsoever.

[Georgiev] Is it really impossible?

[Dimitrov] The SDS does not consist of two, five, or even 20 people. The SDS is a historical phenomenon. Even if we should accept that there are a few efficient informers among its members, they cannot change history. Can they leak secret information? You should realize that we are not a conspiratorial organization. Our problem is not how to keep facts secret, but how to share information. Or do you presume that informers might interfere with our correct decisions? This is ridiculous. Even if someone should deliberately try to obstruct our work, he could be hardly successful. Last, but not least our trends are clear, our ideas and stands are unmistakable, and our actions are always coordinated with the given circumstances and developments. I would even say that they are proceeding in conformity with the historical process, if the expression does not seen too pompous to you. Naturally, we cannot oppose the course of events, this would be meaningless, and people would not forgive us if we did.

[Georgiev] What future developments do you expect in the affair of the files?

[Dimitrov] I would just wish that the question may be closed once and for all. Nevertheless, I suspect that those who are engaged in this affair will find it convenient to produce a few more files (presumably the files concerning one, or two people whom they do not like) to make people accept the idea that a great number of SDS members have disgraced themselves. If people should finally believe this, then they may even put some forgeries into operation to disgrace this or that political figure. This game could be played ad infinitum. Therefore I repeat my warning: Do not expect the files of the loyal, the faithful, the true informers to be produced. Such files have disappeared within less than a year.

[Georgiev] Are you convinced that Mr. Trenchev, who speaks about the files, is a weapon in someone's hands?

[Dimitrov] Look here, I am convinced that Mr. Trenchev is very sensitive on the question of files. He spent a long time in the dungeons of the State Security Service, and has so to say, suffered at their hands. I cannot judge him. A different question is that whenever someone discloses such facts he should be provide precise and exhaustive information.

National Interests Defense Spokesman Interviewed

AU1612134390 Sofia POGLED in Bulgarian No. 50, 10 Dec 90 p 8-9

[Interview with Mincho Minchev, spokesman of the Nationwide Committee for the Defense of National Interests, by Petur Bakalov; place and date not given: "Will There Be an Association of Free Towns in Our Country?"]

[Text] [Bakalov] Numerous people are disturbed by the fact that you collaborated with the former State Security Service.

[Minchev] Why? I never made a secret of my participation in the so-called "national revival process." Today,

some inveterate apparatchiks claim that a single party should assume the responsibility for such actions. My opinion is that everyone should bear his own responsibility.

[Bakalov] In November 1990 a group of approximately 2,000 families from Kurdzhali, under your leadership, applied for political asylum in Greece. Following the precedent at the Svilengrad-Ormenion border, Greece reacted promptly and tactfully. What did you hope to achieve by this action?

[Minchev] Considering that the Bulgarian state was not ready to provide guarantees for the rights of all its citizens, people had had recourse to this desperate action which could also be interpreted as a form of exerting public influence over parliament. Being convinced that there is no future for them in their native area, numerous Christians from Kurdzhali are already planning to settle down beyond a line drawn from Sofia through Plovdiv, to Burgas.

[Bakalov] In addition to rallies and torch processions you also organized sit-ins, while in November 1990 you even had recourse to acts of civil disobedience. Are you convinced that such forms of protest are legally justified?

[Minchev] We do not place ourselves above the law, and the problem concerns the personal choice of everyone who is joining our movement.

[Bakalov] Nevertheless, the aforementioned actions were followed by street demonstrations of secondary school students. A Christian Patriotic Youth Union was established.

[Minchev] People in those areas are particularly sensitive about their national consciousness. It is natural that children should be influenced by the families in this respect. We support the young people, but the establishment of the union was their own idea and took place at their own initiative.

[Bakalov] I talked to their leaders, and one of the young people repeated on several occasions how proud he is of being a nationalist. It turned out, later on, that the dictionary defines his ideas by the word "patriot."

[Minchev] Unfortunately, this word has been missing from our country's political dictionary over the past year.

[Bakalov] What is your greatest concern today?

[Minchev] Following the abolition of the residence restrictions, 130 to 300 Muslims from nearby villages are settling down in Kurdzhali every day. Approximately 18 to 20 people are crowded in one apartment. What do you think would happen if elections for local administrative organs should be held today?

[Bakalov] You submitted a list of 10,000 signatures in support of the idea of establishing a civil administration in Kurdhzali to the Grand National Assembly and to the Political Consultative Council under the president's office. What results do you expect from this action?

[Minchev] The idea of establishing associations of free civil societies has no chance of survival under our legislation, but it could serve as an incentive for the Grand National Assembly encouraging it to strive for guaranteeing the rights of all citizens in this country and for eliminating the conditions for the separation of ethnic groups.

SDS Delegate Ganev Defends Actions as Teacher

AU1612161090 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 3 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with Stoyan Ganev, Union of Democratic Forces member of the Grand National Assembly, by Irina Yordanova; place and date not given: "About 'Big' Fees and 'Small' Foreign Debt"; first three paragraphs are DEMOKRATSIYA introduction]

[Text] Our editorial board received a letter signed by more than 50 graduates of the Faculty of Law of the St. Kliment Okhridski University in Sofia. The letter protests against the campaign initiated by the Bulgarian Socialist Party and the former prime minister, stating that it is aimed at discrediting Stoyan Ganev, member of the Grand National Assembly. Those are students, graduates of the first class (1985-1990) taught by Stoyan Ganev. "With his high professionalism, intellect, and erudition, he taught us the first lessons of law, which proved very important for us as jurists," the letter reads.

We heard that signatures in support of Stoyan Ganev are being collected by the students of the Georgi Dimitrov Higher Institute—the former school of the Ministry of Internal Affairs in Simeonovo. The fact that Stoyan Ganev used to teach at that institute was utilized by the former prime minister as a means of compromising him.

In parliament Stoyan Ganev did not answer the Socialists' numerous hints about that issue. According to some people, the spokesman for the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS] parliamentary union prefers to defend other people rather than himself. Others interpreted negatively the lack of self-defense. Now, Stoyan Ganev answers for the DEMOKRATSIYA readers the "uncomfortable," according to Mr. Lukanov, questions relating to the school of the Ministry of Internal affairs.

[Yordanova] Where do you actually work in addition to parliament?

[Ganev] I work at the Law Faculty of the Sofia University as chief assistant on the subject of constitutional law.

[Yordanova] What is your connection with the former Ministry of Internal Affairs school?

[Ganev] I conducted exercises in this school in my area of specialization, for a specific fee. Certainly about half of my colleagues at the Law Faculty taught at the school of the Ministry of Internal Affairs because the students

there used to graduate in law. All law subjects were taught there, and without the lecturers of the Sofia University Law Faculty, the Georgi Dimitrov Institute would hardly have functioned. Apparently, I was invited to lecture there because the subject in which I specialize used to be taught only by myself and another assistance at the Law Faculty.

[Yordanova] Precisely what was your subject and in what faculty of the institute did you teach?

[Ganev] My subject was the state law of the former socialist countries, minus our country. The students were acquainted with the political and constitutional development of the USSR and the other Eastern European countries after 1985, against the background of the stagnation in Bulgaria. I also had a seminar at the "People's Militia" Faculty.

[Yordanova] How many times a week or month did you teach and what was your fee?

[Ganev] My subject was taught only one semester per year, thus, I had between six and seven classes a year. Occasionally, I also had separate lectures. I used to receive about 300 leva per year.

[Yordanova] What are your impressions of the students at the institute?

[Ganev] They were intelligent, and many of them—very sincere. I am not ashamed of my contacts with those students and do not find those contacts compromising. To teach law, regardless of who your students are, is not an immoral act. Especially now that we must do everything possible to improve the legal qualifications of the cadres who will defend public order. I am ready to teach law anywhere and to anyone, including the members of the Bulgarian Socialist Party.

[Yordanova] What did Mr. Lukanov mean when he said in the parliament that you have acquired an "Interior Ministry mentality?"

[Ganev] It is a pity that Mr. Lukanov, losing his balance, did not hesitate to insult a ministry, even when he was still the prime minister. Perhaps my statement that an investigation is yet to establish the real scope of the foreign debt and his role in accumulating it, prompted him to say what he said. I must admit that as a jurist I have my suspicions about the foreign debt, However, this is an issue that must be proven by a competent organ. When Mr. Lukanov pointed out the amoral character of teaching law to future cadres of the militia, and receiving a fee for this, it was really the last straw. I think that he should apologize not so much to me, but to the militia itself.

Agrarian Party Leadership Views Future Tasks

AU1712140390 Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 p 1

[Text] At its session held on 10 December, the Permanent Board of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] analyzed the situation surrounding the formation of a new government and discussed the associated possibilities for participating in this government.

Special attention was paid to the new methods and forms of work among the allied Agrarians; this work should also be in conformance with the new stage in the evolution of the BZNS, as the union firmly and consistently develops itself as a modern, independent, and autonomous political party. The union's leadership conclusively rejects dogmatic regulation of organizational and political activity. Ensuring that the local agrarian associations have scope for initiative will help to diversify their activities connected with transforming social life and changing the political system in Bulgaria.

The Permanent Board reached the conclusion that the BZNS cannot advance successfully unless it reanalyzes as soon as possible its own unembellished and edifying history, and that there are now absolutely no obstacles to speedily writing this history in an objective manner. It was decided to make a start on this noble and responsible task in the "ZEMYA I PROGRES" ["LAND AND PROGRESS"] journal, which is to begin to publish a series of authoritative materials tracing and analyzing the historical path of the BZNS.

The union's leadership adopted a decision to begin as early as possible major repairs on the Aleksandur Stamboliyski monument in front of the BZNS building in Sofia, because cracks have appeared in the foundations and the imposing bronze figure, which may have fatal consequences during the winter. It was unanimously agreed that this work should be carried out with the aid of all allied Agrarians and sympathizers of the BZNS, and therefore a subscription list will be started within the next few days to collect the required funds.

Duparinov Not Elected 'Vrabcha-1' BZNS Leader

AU1612153190 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 13 Dec 90 p 2

[Text] The KURIER Press Service was authorized to disseminate the full text of the following declaration of the "Vrabcha-1" Bulgarian Agrarian National Union [BZNS] Managing Board:

In connection with the interview published in DUMA No. 253 of 12 December 1990, the "Vrabcha-1" BZNS Managing Board states that Yordan Duparinov was not elected secretary of the "Vrabcha-1" BZNS and cannot represent the union.

The Sofia City Court—Companies Division—at its meeting on 5 December, in the presence of Judge Angelova and Prosecutor Doncheva, rejected the attempt of Yordan Duparinov to register as secretary of the aforementioned union, and described the attempt as unfounded and contradicting the union's charter.

Since Yordan Duparinov joined a new organization called "United Agrarian Union," (DUMA No. 253, 12

December 1990), in which he assumed a leading post, he has been expelled from the ranks of "Vrabcha-1" BZNS.

Democratic Party Holds 13th Congress in Sofia

AU1612204290 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] On 16 December in Sofia the 13th Congress of the Democratic Party continued. The delegation adopted the party's platform and charter. Those are documents that determine the place of the Democratic Party in the rightist sector of political life.

The congress decided that the daily ZNAME will be the party's central press organ. It was decided that the party's color will be purple.

A graphic rendering of a white capital letter D against a purple background, surrounded by two circles between which "Democratic Party" is inscribed, will be the party's symbol.

Independence Day—5 October—will be the party's holiday.

Boris Kyurkchiev, until now chairman of the party, was elected honorary chairman. The congress elected a 50-member Supreme Party Council. The council will elect an operational bureau and a new party chairman.

Further on New 'Business Bloc' Party Formation

Party Platform Outlined

AU1712130790 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 p 2

[Katya Yaneva report: "Private Businessmen Established Their Own Political Organization"]

[Excerpts] A new political organization—the Bulgarian Business Bloc [Bulgarski Biznesblok—BB]—was established in Sofia yesterday. [passage omitted]

The program declaration of the new political organization reads as follows: "The BB represents a stabilizing alternative in the current chaotic political situation. It is striving to safeguard the necessary normal economic activities and freedom of the individual." [passage omitted]

The involvement of foreign capital is one of the new party's priority requirements. It is related to the idea of creating a custom-free zone extending over the entire Bulgarian territory similar to the situation in Hong Kong and Singapore. This will make it possible to combine two real advantages—namely Bulgaria's favorable geographical situation as an economic bridge between Europe, the Middle East, and North Africa, and our country's close business relations with the Soviet Union. The program declaration contains systematic measures aimed at the implementation of this special idea. [passage omitted]

The BB intends to rely on the active assistance of its supporters, and not on mass membership, the program declaration further says. "We are not striving for power, but the organs of state power need our help," the final passage of the document states. The speakers who took the floor during the debates on the program declaration pointed out that the BB should adopt its own strategy for the forthcoming local elections and try to exceed the four percent barrier at the next parliamentary elections.

Loyal to their own style, the businessmen did not waste time during the lunch break and established a private agricultural investment bank. It will be based on a 11 million leva fund and deal with the specific credit requirements of agricultural producers. Nominal shares worth 5,000 leva each will be issued. No dividends will be drawn within the first two-three years. No one may own more than nine percent of the shares, the initiators decided after the first attempts at purchasing the control package.

Zhorzh [George] Ganchev, a 51-year old former emigre, was elected BB chairman. Mr. Ganchev is one of the founders of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS], according to his own statement. He owns several companies in the United States and Great Britain.

Mr. Ganchev was elected to the chairman's post, after submitting an official declaration confirming that he has never collaborated with the secret services. The other candidates for the party's leading posts submitted similar declarations at the participants' request.

Party Leader Ganchev on Role, Tasks

AU1612225190 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 12 Dec 90 p 1

[Report on interview with Zhorzh Ganchev, newly elected chairman of the Bulgarian Business Bloc, by Valentin Suykov; place and date not given: "Party of Private Business"]

[Excerpt] On Monday, 10 December the Bulgarian Business Bloc [BB], which some call "Mollov's party," became the youngest member of the large Bulgarian political family. The first impression is that one cannot place an equal sign between the party and the Union for Citizens' Economic Initiative. Many of the founders of the BB are not members of the union.

As a businessman who has gained his experience in Great Britain and the United States, the newly elected party chairman Zhorzh Ganchev has no illusions about the fact that difficult times lie ahead, but he is an optimist:

[Ganchev] We are starting with a program declaration which we will develop. I myself have quite a few ideas about a political platform. In the run-up to the next elections we must attract one million voters from the ranks of those who are the natural creators of wealth in this country.

[Suykov] What is your first task?

[Ganchev] A building in the center of Sofia and to send working groups into the provinces to set up local committees—an apostolic mission.

[Suykov] The problem of the elitist nature of the business bloc has strongly activated minds ever since the preliminary meeting last November.

[Ganchev] The elitist claims put forward by some people are their own problem. There are no words like "elite," "bourgeoisie," or "right-wing" party in my dictionary. Our political formation must be the equivalent to the party of Margaret Thatcher and John Major in Great Britain—neoliberal and neoconservative in nature.

[Suykov] You are one of the founders and major financial benefactors of the Union of Democratic Forces [SDS]. What led you to the leadership of a new party?

[Ganchev] I helped the SDS at the time of its formation only because I wanted political pluralism in Bulgaria, but in spirit I cannot belong to a conglomerate of 20 parties. I hope to maintain good relations with the SDS, as well as with the BSP, why not? We have no bone to pick with them. We will not employ abusive words, blackmail, and political files against our opponents. Our competition will take place on the playing field of full stores, attracting foreign investments, and high labor productivity. [passage omitted]

Deputy Defense Minister Buchvarov Interviewed

AU1312082390 Sofia NARODNA ARMIYA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Interview with Lieutenant General Stoyan Buchvarov, deputy minister of national defense and head of the Material-Technical and Rear Supply of the Bulgarian People's Army, by Deputy Chief Editor Colonel Boris Khristov; place and date not given: "Contours of Portrait of Renewal"; first paragraph is NARODNA ARMIYA introduction]

[Excerpts] Merging the Main Administration on Weapons and Technology with the Rear Command of the Bulgarian People's Army [BNA] into the new Material-Technical and Rear Supply Command of the BNA, is one of the major changes within the framework of the comprehensive reorganization of the BNA this year. Lieutenant General Buchvarov is a new deputy minister of national defense and head of the newly formed command. The change evoked great interest among the soldiers. Some specialists express conflicting thoughts and opinions about the reorganization. Therefore, the editorial board asked Lieutenant Geneneral Buchvarov for an interview on certain topical issues. [passage omitted]

[Khristov] What prompted the structural changes that were conducted this year in your command? What is their essence?

[Buchvarov] The structural changes were prompted by the necessity to ensure a centralized leadership and more efficient utilization of the capacities and means of technical and rear supply, and for better resolving the operational tasks related to supplying the troops in peace and war. In addition, the changes were dictated by the commitments assumed by the Republic of Bulgaria in Vienna at the talks on limiting conventional weapons and on measures on confidence building.

The essence of the changes is in merging the former Main Administration on Weapons and Technology and the Rear Supply Command of the BNA in a united Material-Technical and Rear Supply Command of the BNA. Such merging of the organs of technical and rear supply was conducted in all units of the ground troops. In the other kinds of Armed Forces this merging has functioned successfully for several decades. We expect the changes to facilitate a more efficient utilization of the material-technical basis in the interest of technological and rear supply. Conditions have been created for constructing a uniform transportation system, which includes land, railroad, and vehicle transportation, for better implementing supply and evacuation transportation of the BNA. The possibilities have been expanded for utilizing the military plants and shops for repairing and maintaining the transportation and rear equipment, production of certain consumer goods in those plants and shops, and so forth. By creating uniform organs of the Material-Technical and Rear Supply Command a certain reduction of the organs of technological and rear supply was achieved. [passage omitted]

[Khristov] Could you briefly point out some of the basic and most typical tasks that the Material-Technical and Rear Supply Command will solve during the current year?

[Buchvarov] The basic tasks of the Material-Technical and Rear Supply command spring from the requirements of the defense doctrine and the principles of reasonable defense sufficiency. In addition, one must take into consideration the military-political situation in the Balkans and the country's financial, human, and material possibilities. All this, and some other factors impose the following most characteristic tasks: to preserve the soldiers' standard of living, despite the difficulties related to the [illegible]n to market economy; to supply the troops with everything necessary for conducting the normal training process and maintaining high combat readiness; to conduct scientific-research and development activity without neglecting the strategic directions; and to begin to resolve the immediate tasks and first of all those related to automation of management of weapons and troops. In addition we face exceptionally difficult and labor-intensive work in connection with the disarmament. The weapons and equipment discarded on the basis of the single reduction and the Vienna talks agreements, must be seized from the troops, stored, dismantled, and adapted for other uses, the national economy included. This part of the weapons and equipment that will not be reused, must be dismantled and destroyed. The remaining scrap must be transferred for processing.

Taking into consideration the discontinuing of the Warsaw Pact military organization, we must pay special attention to preserving bilateral treaties on supplying the BNA with weapons, equipment, and property, both in times of peace and war. Obviously, we will have to rely on our country's economy, on the supplies of the specialized enterprises, and on the possibilities of the Army itself. Therefore, the military repair plants and shops, the hotels, restaurants, and cafeterias of the Ministry of National Defense, and the units on quartermasters services and on monitoring the market and the technical approaches and activities must acquire greater judicial and economic independence. [passage omitted]

Rakovski Officers' Legion Declares Loyalty

AU1612210090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Statement by Captain Dimitur Boyadzhiev, chairman of the Georgi Sava Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion Coordinating Council; place and date not given—live or recorded]

[Text] Recently the mass media often carry articles which indicate a lack of understanding of the Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion's essence, goals, and tasks.

Opinions are expressed in a biased manner that the crisis in Bulgarian society could only be resolved by the use of military force. The Rakovski Bulgarian Officers Legion is not the force that will crudely interfere with society's political life.

Further on in his declaration for the BTA Captain Boyadzhiev declares the loyalty of the legion to all state institutions, and most of all to the president, and expresses support of Mr. Dimitur Popov's efforts to form a new government, which should act for the benefit of all Bulgarian citizens.

Independent TU Demands Changes to Labor Code

AU1612225090

[Editorial Report] Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian on 12 December on page 2 carries two items related to amending the Labor Code on the basis of proposal submitted by the Executive Committee of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB].

The first is a 500-word "proposal by the KNSB Executive Committee to the Grand National Assembly," entitled "Let Us Accelerate Labor Legal Settlement." It points out that the KNSB leadership receives daily letters from many labor collectives about the "regime of labor and rest under harmful and special labor conditions." After stressing that the "existing Labor Code and its relevant regulations and instructions create a cumbersome bureaucratic and centralized procedure of dealing with such issues," the KNSB emphasizes that "by the end of the year the Grand National Assembly must discuss and adopt a bill on amendments and addenda to the Labor Code."

The second item is a 400-word "Bill on Amendments and Addenda to the Labor Code." The bill contains proposals on a different manner of calculating labor time of workers who work under exceptionally difficult conditions, reducing the actual daily period of work, and expanding their vacations.

Agricultural Trade Unions Disagree With Petkov

AU1712215090 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] At a news conference organized by the Federation of the Independent Trade Unions in the Agricultural Sector, the representatives of the mass media were briefed on the Federation's position on the current crisis in the trade union movement.

Disagreement with the style and methods of work of the Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria [KNSB] leadership was expressed.

The Federation distances itself from the activities of KNSB chairman, Professor Krustyu Petkov, and from the work of the KNSB Executive Committee.

The opinion of the Federation of the Independent Trade Unions in the Agricultural Sector leadership was expressed during the news conference. The attempts of certain forces to (?provoke) and to introduce a split in the federation were (?denounced and the leadership appealed to its members to abstain from all subversive actions).

Jan-Nov Production Figures Issued, Analyzed

AU1712142590 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 pp 1, 2

[Text] The value of production output in November was 6,116 million leva, 10.5 percent less than in November 1989. Industrial goods output was valued at 4,783 million leva, representing a 12.1-percent decline since November 1989. This information was provided by the Central Statistical Administration [Tsentralno Statistichesko Upravlenie—TsSU].

These figures confirm a stable trend: From the beginning of January to the end of November 1990, overall output fell by 10.4 percent as compared with the first nine months of last year, while goods output declined by 12.5 percent.

Compared to October, the value of production rose by 132 million leva. The TsSU specialists consider that these results could have been better, had there not been a shortage of electric power. Production losses due to lack of electricity and because of power plant breakdowns amounted to 33 million leva.

Strikes also had some effect on the volume of output. Out of a total of 5,307 enterprises in the material sphere, the TsSU received reports on effective strikes at 134 enterprises. This information was provided by the plant managements and strike committees. According to the

specialists' own assessment, 64 of the enterprises suffered losses of 10 million leva.

Production

Compared with the first 11 months of 1989, 181 companies achieved higher output, whereas 151 companies did so in the first six months of the year.

During the 11-month period 377 of a total of 560 companies and economic organizations registered a fall in production.

Approximately 65 percent of the fall in production output was caused by 14 large companies and enterprises which mainly produce raw and other materials and machinery for use in domestic manufacturing. During the first six months of 1990, 24 companies accounted for the same share of the fall in output.

The industrial sector was responsible for 93.8 percent of the total fall in production. Machine building, the metal-working industry, the chemical industry, and the oil refining industry were responsible for 81 percent of the fall in goods output compared with last year, and 61 percent of the total fall during the 11-month period, while the food and ferrous metals industries accounted for the remainder.

The volume of industrial goods output fell in 274 of a total of 409 companies and economic organizations. The chief exceptions to this were enterprises in the textile, garment, class, china and porcelain, and printing industries.

Compared with the January-November period of 1989, there were falls in the production of 149 of a total of 199 basic industrial products.

The production results in the construction industry declined by 4.9 percent. In this branch, housing construction figures are registered a month in arrears: Up to the end of October, 15,030 fewer apartments were completed, representing a 40-percent fall as compared with the same period in 1989.

In transportation, the fall for the 11-month period was 6.9 percent.

The Market

The value of retail goods turnover was higher than last year figures because of the rise in prices and the sale of more luxury goods.

At the same time, 215 of a total of 295 monitored goods were supplied to the domestic market in lower quantities.

Such goods included sugar and sugar products, rice, pasta, meat, beans, lentils, fish and fish products, edible vegetable oils, and children's foods.

Compared with last year, the commodity funds received larger supplies of white and yellow cheese, flour, milk, and dairy fats.

Supplies of children's clothing, knitwear, stockings, and footwear deteriorated. Fewer stoves, matches, heating materials, and electric lamps were supplied.

Prices

Fruit and vegetable prices were about twice as high as they were last year. The change in the index is greatest in state and cooperative trade, because the prices in these sectors used to be the lowest.

In the "shopping basket" of 1,700 goods and services, the overall consumer prices index rose by 4.9 percent over October 1990. As compared with May, the first month when the study was carried out, the cost of living has risen by 36.4 percent.

Forecast

During December the enterprises expect to produce more output than in November.

If these expectations are realized, the TsSU specialists predict that the total volume of production output in 1990 will be about 10-percent less than in 1989, while industrial goods output will fall by about 12-13 percent.

Private Bank Chief on Privatization, Bank's Role

AU1512201090 Berlin HORIZONT in German No. 40/1990 (signed to press on 3 Dec 90) p 40

[Interview with Khristo Marinov, chairman of the first private bank and member of the Coordinating Committee of the Bulgarian Entrepreneurs' Association, by Marina Pauly; place and date not given: "Bulgaria's First Private Bank"]

[Text] [Pauly] The government and the opposition are in agreement about the need for privatization. However, the corresponding laws have not yet been passed. In Bulgaria there is no trade in securities, no tax system which offers incentives to private entrepreneurs. How does the chairman of the board of directors of the first Bulgarian private bank live with this?

[Marinov] Everything is still too complicated. Even though after the changes in November 1989 the door to private business was opened a bit, the state monopoly still exists in practice. Even though the change in the Constitution established conditions for the acquisition of production means by private persons, the scarcity of these means made this an almost impossible undertaking.

Over the past months 45,000 private companies have been registered. However, 35,000 of them are individual taxi drivers, coffee houses, and snack-stands. Only 10,000 new registrations are those of companies that have to be taken seriously. Of them 6,500 are already members of our Entrepreneurs' Association.

[Pauly] How was the private bank founded?

[Marinov] To be able to promote the development of private companies in Bulgaria through favorable financial and loan conditions, the Entrepreneurs' Association decided in the spring to establish a special bank. Until then the state's financial institutions had repeatedly tried to refuse loans to private persons or to supervise them.

[Pauly] What is the capital stock of the bank; who may buy your shares?

[Marinov] The capital stock is 10 million leva. It has already been raised to 50 million leva and we expect further increases. One share is worth 1,000 leva and it can be bought by every juridical person and every individual in Bulgaria. The sale to foreigners is possible without permission by the Finance Ministry if the proportion of foreign capital does not exceed 20 percent. At the moment foreign participation amounts to two percent.

[Pauly] What do you, as a banker, worry most at the moment?

[Marinov] The administrative fixing of higher prices, which is camouflaged as liberalization. Inflation deprives the people of the few financial means with which they could have participated in privatization.

A reform of our tax system is urgently necessary. Today income tax is up to 85 percent. Any private economic activity becomes meaningless as a result.

National Sale of State 'Loan Bonds' Announced

AU1712142390 Sofia DUMA in Bulgarian 11 Dec 90 p 2

[Evgeni Gavrilov report: "Loan Bonds Are Going on Sale at 44 Percent Interest"]

[Text] As of today all branches of the State Savings Bank will be authorized to sell loan bonds from the state bond loan. An agreement on loan bonds worth 217 million leva, which will be proposed to individual citizens and legal bodies, was signed between the Ministry of Finance and the State Savings Bank for this purpose.

The value of the agreements was determined prior to the adoption of the addendum to the Council of Minsters' decree on loan bonds, according to which a 20-percent discount is granted to all those who are ready to purchase such loan bonds. For this reason the experts are convinced that the current demand should exceed the value of the agreements signed on the loan bonds.

As Khristo Danchev, chief of department at the Ministry of Finance, explained, the loan bonds will guarantee 44 percent interest to their owners while the means they have invested will be protected against inflation.

In addition to this, the forthcoming privatization will make it possible to use the loan bonds to purchase shares of the same nominal value as the loan bonds. Thus, for example, the owner of a loan bond worth 100 leva can purchase a 100-leva-worth share although he originally paid only 80 leva for his loan bond.

Macedonian Cultural Associations Convene Congress

Propose Political Role

AU1512201390 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] The first regular congress of the Union of Macedonian Cultural and Educational Associations opened today in Sofia in a festive atmosphere. The union's chairman, Docent Dimitur Gotsev, presented a report on the union's activity in the period since its restoration at the start of this year. He put forward a well-argued proposal for a change in the union's character and name. Instead of cultural and educational, it should become a sociopolitical organization, and its name should be changed from the Union of Macedonian Cultural and Educational Associations to: Union of Macedonian Associations-VMRO [Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization—referring to nationalist organization active after 1918]. In this connection, the union would have to change its statute, and also adopt a platform which would regulate its relations with other sociopolitical organization, Docent Dimitur Gotsev stated.

He announced that the union intends in the very near future to open its press center in Geneva.

During the stormy debates on the report, the participants in the congress leveled accusations against the main political forces for their passivity toward the nationality issue.

The personal files syndrome [words indistinct] at this congress.

From the speaker's platform, accusations were traded between members of the union's Administrative Council.

Tomorrow the delegates will examine and adopt the new statute and platform of the Union of Macedonian Associations.

Name, Character Change Announced

AU1612205190 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] On 16 December in Sofia the first Regular Congress of the Union of Macedonian Cultural and Educational Associations ended.

After prolonged discussion the delegates decided to change the union's name as well as the character of its activities. As of today it will be called Union of Macedonian Associations [Suyuz Na Makedonskite Druzhestva], and turn from a cultural-educational organization into a public, supraparty, and independent organization.

According to the charter that was adopted, the total and irreversible solution of the Macedonian issue on the basis of historical truth, political justice, and international human rights treaties will be the union's basic goal.

The delegates adopted the union's new platform, which points out the specific means of achieving its basic goal.

Docent Dimitur Gotsev was reelected chairman of the Union of Macedonian Associations.

Balkan Experts' Meeting Opens in Sofia 18 Dec

AU1712172890 Sofia BTA in English 1631 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Dec (BTA)—In compliance with the agreements reached at the 1989 Tirana Meeting of senior officials representing the Balkan countries' foreign ministries, from December 18 through December 19 Sofia will host a meeting of experts of the Balkan foreign ministries. They will discuss the Balkan countries' cultural and humanitarian cooperation and the mass media.

Opening Proceedings Reported

AU1812111490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Veliana Khristova report on opening of the "first meeting of experts from foreign affairs ministries of Balkan countries on questions of culture, humanitarian cooperation, and mass media" at the Boyana Residence in Sofia on 18 December—recorded]

[Text] This meeting which is the first of its kind reflects the specific implementation of the agreements signed between high-ranking representatives of foreign affairs ministries from the Balkan countries held in Tirana, in January 1989, and subsequently confirmed by the meetings in Athens and Bucharest.

The meeting was opened by Mr. (?Tenyu) Savov, deputy minister of foreign affairs, who welcomed the participants in the meeting and pointed out that the discussion of topical questions concerning the multilateral cooperation in the Balkans related to culture, the humanitarian sphere, and the mass media represents an indivisible part of the all-Balkan process and should make a constructive contribution to the further development of this process.

Mr. Savov further stressed as follows: We are convinced that the meeting will create the necessary prerequisites for finding a common denominator of cooperation in each of the three aforementioned spheres. The deputy minister clearly defined the future prospects of mutually advantageous cooperation which include the drafting of matters of mutual interest and the coordination of several initiatives and events in the aforementioned spheres of activities.

The delegation leaders delivered brief introductory addresses at this morning's session, which just ended.

Greek Delegation Meets Zhelev; Brings Foodstuffs

AU1712223590 Sofia BTA in English 2050 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 12 Dec (BTA)—One hundred tons of foodstuffs humanitarian aid from Greece to Bulgaria, arrived on trucks here today. The aid was delivered to the Foreign Aid Agency with the Presidency for distribution.

In a statement to the BTA, Mr. Yeoriyos Tzitzikostas, minister of Northern Greece, who accompanied the fleet of trucks that brought to Sofia flour, sugar, olives, olive oil, children's food and other foodstuffs, pointed out that many Greek people had responded to the appeal for sending humanitarian aid to Bulgaria. This is just the beginning, the Greek minister said. The campaign will go on.

Minister Tzitzikostas was received by President Zhelyu Zhelev who thanked the Greek guest for the support given by friendly Greece. I am deeply moved by the fact that the aid is granted by private persons and organizations, Mr. Zhelev said. He pointed out that this fact is an expression of the friendly, fraternal feelings existing between the people of Bulgaria and Greece, an expression of "people's diplomacy" which inspires optimism over the future of Bulgaro-Greek relations.

The minister of northern Greece had a meeting with Mr. Nikolay Todorov, chairman of the Grand National Assembly and honorary chairman of the Bulgaro-Greek Friendship Society. Mr. Tzitzikostas was received by His Holiness Patriarch Maksim. Among other things they discussed the visit of 40 Bulgarian orphaned children to Greece during the Christmas holidays.

Zhelev on Greek, Turkish Relations

AU1712223690 Sofia BTA in English 2125 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Sofia, 17 Dec (BTA)—At the meeting he had today with Mr. Yeoriyos Tzitzikostas, minister of Northern Greece, President Zhelev highly appreciated Bulgaro-Greek relations, saying that they are a model of state-to-state relations.

The relations between Bulgaria and Greece are a contribution to peace and stability in the Balkans; at the same time they are a guarantee for Bulgaria's independence, President Zhelev told Bulgarian and foreign reporters after the meeting. He expressed Sofia's resolve to further develop its relations with Athens in all fields.

In answer to a question about Bulgaro-Turkish relations, Mr. Zhelev said he believed they would continue to improve. He pointed out the steps taken by Sofia to provide legal guarantees for the human rights and freedoms of the Bulgarian Muslims, including those with Turkish ethnic self-awareness. The president reminded that the rights of these Bulgarian citizens were violated in the campaign launched at the time of Todor Zhivkov's totalitarian regime for the forcible change of their names a policy now denounced by all political forces in Bulgaria. We believe that once the cause for the deterioration of our relations has been removed, our relations

with Turkey would improve and turn into normal, good neighbourly relations, based on mutual benefit, President Zhelev said.

Replying to a question about a recent mass drive near the Bulgarian and Greek border when some Bulgarians expressed their wish to go and settle in Greece claiming they were threatened by Turkish extremists, the president said that it was a campaign launched by certain political forces which tried to exploit the interethnic problems in Bulgaria. We should safeguard our national interests through persistent efforts aimed at guaranteeing the integrity, unity and sovereignty of our country, Mr. Zhelev pointed out.

The Bulgarian president underlined that Sofia relies very much on the assistance of the International Monetary Fund in overcoming the crisis and carrying out the economic reforms. He expressed his hope for a successful outcome of the negotiations with the IMF.

Mr. Zhelev and Mr. Tzitzikostas did not discuss the so-called "Macedonian issue". President Zhelev said he is convinced that the forthcoming visit of Greek President Konstandinos Mitsotakis would provide an opportunity for an extensive exchange of views as to the situation in the Balkans.

Pithart Explains Slovak Stand on Current Crisis

AU1112173190 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Dec 90 p 3

[Interview with Czech Republic Prime Minister Petr Pithart by LIDOVE NOVINY reporter Ivan Jamelka; place and date not given: "I Have a Certain Understanding"]

[Text] [Jamelka] Mr. Prime Minister, do you believe that the Slovak Government is ready to insist on its position even if the federation were to disintegrate [as a result]?

[Pithart] I think that it does not perceive the matter in this way, and I have a certain understanding for it. It will most probably say that it rejects this type of a federation and, should the present federation break up, it will immediately start negotiating on a different one. This is also why the question of a referendum is irrelevant since a referendum can only decide whether or not we want a common state. It will not show what kind of a federation we want.

[Jamelka] Where do you see the rational reasons for the Slovak representation's present attitude?

[Pithart] Respecting something that may not seem rational to you from a certain viewpoint is also a rationality of sorts. That is a political reality. The national element is of greater significance for Slovakia than it is in the Czech lands and economic reform is not the highest priority there. If you do not respect such facts in politics, you act irrationally yourself.

What I dislike about the behavior of Slovak representatives is their categorical attitude towards the Federal Assembly. If they said that they want the fewest possible changes [to the law on the division of powers as approved by the Slovak parliament], it would still be acceptable. One cannot, however, make the parliament a mere confirmer of one's own will, that is a residue of the past.

[Jamelka] What do you think is the cause of this attitude of the Slovak representation?

[Pithart] The Slovak representation is in conflict with what it calls the federal nation but in reality it means by it the federal structures. According to Mr. Meciar's words, there is total distrust of a number of Federal Government members in Slovakia. I believe that herein lies the key to understanding their attitude.

Christian Democrats Prefer Republic to Federal

AU1212123790 Prague CTK in English 1526 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 10 (CTK)—The Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), a Slovak coalition government partner, favors a constitutional solution to the present political crisis over the bill on power-sharing in Czechoslovakia", Central Secretary Jan Petrik told a press conference today.

He noted that with the amendments made by the Czech National Council (regional parliament) the bill now differs from the notions of the Slovak parliament and government, and thus also from those of the KDH, Petrik said. Especially banking, communications, and the questions of national minorities should be in the jurisdiction of the Czech and Slovak Republics, and this was agreed by representatives of all the three governments.

"We do not have the best experience with the solution of nationality problems on the federal level. Owing to lack of information or ignorance, decisions from the federal posts concerning the minorities in Slovakia often did not correspond to the real conditions and this unfavorably influenced coexistence in the areas concerned", Jan Petrik said.

Miklosko Addresses Federal Assembly 11 Dec

LD1112190690 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1322 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Speech by Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko to the Federal Assembly in Prague—live]

[Text] Esteemed Mr. Chairman and chairman of the session, esteemed Federal Assembly, esteemed ladies and gentlemen: The Slovak National Council, just like the Czech National Council, using its constitutional right to legislative initiative, according to Article 45, section one of the constitutional law on the Czechoslovak federation, has submitted a draft constitutional bill to the Federal Assembly which amends constitutional law No. 143/1968 on the Czechoslovak federation. Allow me, ladies and gentlemen, authorized as I am by the Slovak National Council, to explain this draft constitutional law.

The draft submitted by the Slovak National Council on the constitutional law of the Federal Assembly is the result of the long and important discussions by the three governments, their prime ministers, and representatives of national parliaments. The starting point was created at the first meeting in Trencianske Teplice, when representatives of the Slovak Republic came with a draft concept for a new division of powers between the federation and the republics. At the follow-up talks in Piestany, and Kromeriz and the final discussions in Prague it emerged that the removal of differences of view requires mutual compromises. The final consensus reflected in the submitted draft emerged from talks between chairmen and deputy chairmen of the national councils and presidiums of governments of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic in Prague on 13 November and from the session of the government of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic on 15 November. The fact that despite the complexity and challenging character of the problem a common platform has been found is something that we view as positive.

The draft abandons the existing method of division of powers into the exclusive powers of the federation, the joint powers of the federation and republics, and the exclusive powers of the republics. The draft defines the powers of the federation and the powers of the republics. The federation's powers are defined positively by specific listing and the republics' powers are defined negatively; that is, it is assumed that all spheres and matters which are not entrusted to the federation belong to the republics. This creates the basis for a concept of constitutional arrangement which does not mean any weakening of the federation, but on the contrary a strengthening of its functionability and an expression of democratic character in a federative constitutional arrangement which is to be an expression of the voluntary union of two (?equal) nations. Speaking about the relations between two equal partners—the Czech and the Slovak Republics—take this to mean legal and political equality, and equal powers in the management of internal affairs.

Ladies and gentlemen: In the creation of the best framework for the functioning of our state and republics, in the interests of the Czech and the Slovak nations and national minorities and ethnic groups, evoked by the social changes since 17 November 1989, a number of constitutional laws have been adopted. So far they have concerned only some areas of the life of our society. This approach in the present transitional period from the totalitarian centralist system of state power to a system of democratic and decentralized management is therefore understandable.

The proposed constitutional bill has a considerable influence on the current division of powers. The bill enables a democratization and decentralization process to take place in the management of the economy. Even in this interim period this process must not be halted in many cases at the level of republics and their governments, but must continue. In spite of all complications and problems we must ensure that the process continues and the republics will be fully responsible for this. This naturally includes the maintenance and development of the necessary and useful integrity of the Czechoslovak economy.

Among the fundamental problems which still have not been quite solved is the issue of ownership. The original proposal of the representatives of the Slovak Republic in this area was directed at the clear definition of the content and extent of the property of individual republics. Because at this stage no agreement on clear economic interpretation of state ownership was achieved, a compromise solution was agreed upon requiring a legislative completion of the next stage.

In the area of financial management and state budget, the bill of the Slovak National Council is based on the principle that the entire financial management of the Czech and Slovak Federative Republic, the Czech Republic, and the Slovak Republic will be separate.

During the preparation of the constitutional bill, great concern has been often expressed on the possible violation of the integrity of the Czechoslovak economy which was, let us admit, built by centralist decisions. We want to give priority to rational links between enterprises, concluded on the basis of their own rational behavior. In them, we see the guarantee against unfounded arguments according to which the adoption of this law will cause our national economy to disintegrate. Yes, what has no rational justification will disintegrate. This, however, should not be seen as something wrong. ON the contrary, it makes possible the creation of new spontaneous relations of integration, concluded on the basis of mutual advantage. This will reinforce the real, and not the proclaimed, unity of the Czechoslovak economy.

The constitutional bill amends powersharing also in the area of taxes and prices. The draft discussed today has as its consequence a shift in jurisdictions in this area on the national republics. The federation is, according to the bill, to create a framework and system for these economic tools.

How it is going to be done in concrete terms, how high the taxes will be, and how they will be collected will remain in the direct jurisdiction of the republics.

I will allow myself to draw your attention to the power of the federation to conclude international treaties. it is proposed that this be amended in such a way that the federation will fully retain the external representation of the CSFR and the conclusion of international treaties of a political nature between states. It does, however, make it possible for the republics to participate in foreign relations, within the framework of the united foreign policy of the CSFR. The republics will be able to conclude agreements in the economic and cultural sphere with parts of federal or federative states. I consider as exceptionally important the fact that the draft creates a constitutional scope for a new system of the economic strategy, founds a new banking system and a whole range of proposed changes which are outlined in the attached explanatory report.

In the draft, as a result of agreements, we can also find some clauses concerning, for example, internal security and railway transport, which will have to be discussed and resolved in the course of further mutual talks and attempts to bring our views closer. Precise solutions should be brought about by constitutions of national republics and the constitution of the federation. Examination of the submitted constitutional law has been and is accompanied by various views and stands which only confirms the fact that the demands of the velvet revolutions are being fulfilled. Citizens of this state are beginning to govern themselves, although this process is complex and often marked by the past four decades. Naturally, not everyone agrees with everything which has been agreed on by the freely elected legislative bodies of the Czech Republic and the Slovak Republic, but I am

deeply convinced that the proposed solution corresponds to the given stage of the democratization process, of which decentralization is a part.

Esteemed Federal Assembly, allow me to express a sincere conviction that the submitted constitutional bill fulfills the will of a decisive majority of our population, that population whom we have the duty to serve by our participation in legislative bodies. Thus I recommend you to approve the submitted constitutional bill which amends constitutional law No. 143/1968 on the Czechoslovak federation.

Finally, I would like to thank all three governments, national parliaments, and the president of the republic for their efforts in the course of all the talks on the drafting of this constitutional bill. This has often been accompanied by tiredness, nervousness, and possibly also sometimes by unsuitable reactions. This should not, however, prevent us from extending a hand to each other and starting to address yet again the problems which are ahead of us. Thank you. [applause]

Meciar Views 'One-Sided' Havel Statements

LD1112182890 Prague CTK in English 1641 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—"I do not think the situation is so dramatic that it would require special powers for the president," Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar told CTK here today.

Responding to Vaclav Havel's speech in parliament on Monday, he agreed with his proposal for setting up a constitutional court and enacting referendum. He said that some of Havel's statements addressed to Slovakia were one-sided and inaccurate as the federation is not jeopardized only by Slovak nationalists. Streams which are of a similar opinion, i.e. that it would be better without the Slovaks, exist in Bohemia as well.

Meciar said he is considering giving up his seat in the federal parliament after discussions on the bill on power sharing are over. It is impossible to hold two posts at one time, he said and added that he would like best to leave political life and devote all his time to his hobbies.

Parliamentary Chairmen Assess Power-Sharing Bill

LD1112213690 Prague CTK in English 1931 GMT 11 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 11 (CTK)—Czech National Council (parliament) Chairwoman Dagmar Buresova said in Federal parliament here today that what matters now is not only division of powers (between the federation and the two national republics), but mainly finding a new concept of the federative set-up of Czechoslovakia.

Speaking at the beginning of parliamentary debate on a draft amendment to the constitutional law on Czechoslovak federation, i.e. the law on power-sharing, this afternoon, Buresova said that the draft submitted by the Czech National Council is to a great deal built upon the original federalization projects of 1968, but places greater emphasis on macroeconomic regulation and rejects the idea of the possibility of reforming socialism.

According to Buresova, the Czech draft aims at building a functional federation while the Czech and Slovak Republics' sovereignty is fully respected. It leaves creation of conceptual questions with the federation, while it give the republics especially executive powers and expands their room for economic activity.

Buresova pointed out that the law constitutes only a temporary adjustment of relations, while the definitive solution will be brought only by the projected new constitutional system.

New Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak constitutions should be worked out and passed by the end of the current election term of the parliaments, i.e. by June 1992.

Buresova said that the Czech parliament's draft differs from that of the Slovak National Council in six points, of which only three are factual: Czech deputies take the view that questions concerning ethnic minorities should be in federal jurisdiction, while they believe that questions related to the management of the Central Bank need not be tackled by constitutional law. They also believe that the territorial principle of determining revenues should not be applied in the creation of the system of the three budgets—Czechoslovak, Czech and Slovak, Buresova said.

Chairman of the Slovak National Council Frantisek Miklosko said that the draft bill on power-sharing quits the present way of division of powers into exclusive powers of the federation, common powers of the federation and the republics, and exclusive powers of the republics.

The draft determines only the powers of the federation and the powers of the republics, i.e. all spheres and matters which do not fall within federal jurisdiction shall be placed into the hands of the republics, Miklosko said.

Commenting on apprehension of possible violation of the Czechoslovak economy's integrity expressed during the drafting of the bill, Miklosko said that while in the past the Czechoslovak economy was built by decisions from the centre, priority now is to be given to rational relations between particular enterprises. This should be a guarantee against the ungrounded arguments that the draft law disintegrates the national economy.

Miklosko Says Slovaks Will Refrain From Conflict

AU1312130690 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 11 Dec 90 p 1

[Interview with Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko by Jindrich Filo on 10 December;

place not given: "Awareness of the Seriousness of the Situation"—opening paragraph is MLADA FRONTA DNES introduction]

[Text] Yesterday afternoon our editor managed to contact Slovak National Council Chairman Frantisek Miklosko:

[Filo] What impression did the president's speech in parliament make on you?

[Miklosko] It was very dramatic. I myself do not know the background of this dramatic nature, and I ask whether the situation really is so dramatic.

[Filo] How would you react to the view that the current dispute is a political game at a high level which does not reflect the true opinions of ordinary people?

[Miklosko] I do not think that what happened now was a coincidence. It is a reflection of the fact that we are still unable to find a model that would be satisfactory to both sides. It seems to me at this moment that Slovakia is on one side and federal bodies on the other. The crucial thing is, however, that no one in Czechoslovakia calls in question the idea of a federal state.

[Filo] What do you expect of the Tuesday [11 December] debate in the Federal Assembly [on the division of powers between the federation and the republics]?

[Miklosko] I trust that it will be successful. I have just received a report from the Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees of the Federal Assembly, which says that a way has been found that is passable for both sides. A solution to the dispute is in the offing.

[Filo] Will you insist on the promulgation of the supremacy of Slovak laws over federal ones if the situation does not develop according to your ideas?

[Miklosko] The mass media have caused confusion on this issue. Neither I nor Mr. Meciar ever spoke about the supremacy of [Slovak] laws. It was Petr Pithart's hypothesis which newspapers immediately interpreted as our official position, which is wrong. We realize the seriousness of the situation and the Slovak side will in no case go into a conflict.

Slovak Parties Reject Extension of Havel's Powers

AU1312161190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Dec 90 p 2

[CTK roundup: "From Standpoints on the President's Speech"]

[Excerpts] CTK in Slovakia asked representatives of the main political parties and movements in the Slovak Republic for their standpoint on CSFR President Vaclav Havel's speech in the Federal Assembly:

The standpoint of the Secretariat of the Christian Democratic Movement [KDH] was imparted by KDH Central Secretary Jan Petrik:

We agree with the president's demand for the establishment of a constitutional court operating on the principle of parity. We approach positively the demand for the adoption of a law on referendum on the republican principle. We consider the adoption of these two laws and the utilization of the existing presidential powers to be sufficient for the preservation of democratic rights and freedoms and for the solution of political crises. [passage omitted]

Jan Siroky, secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia—Party of the Democratic Left Executive Committee: The establishment of a constitutional court and the introduction of the institution of a referendum into our legal system represent an expansion of the mechanisms of the functioning of democracy. Use of both institutions is to be made also according to the drafts of the constitutions of the Slovak Republic, the Czech Republic, and the CSFR. The reinforcement of the CSFR president's powers requires an in-depth justification. We will assume a stand on these proposals only after the publication of the texts of all three submitted initiatives.

The Slovak National Party Executive Committee states in its standpoint: The legislation of the Slovak Republic and the Constitution of the Slovak Republic represent the basic legal norms in Slovakia. A federal constitutional court can derive its authority only from powers that had been delegated to it by the constitutional courts of the republics. We disagree with the establishment of a constitutional court of the federation if these principles are not respected.

The law on referendum must be enacted by the national parliaments first. The federation's right to hold a referendum can only be extended to it by the national parliaments, in our case by the Slovak National Council, through delegation of powers. The enactment of a federal law on referendum without its enactment in the national parliaments runs counter to the basic rights of nations. This law must not be drafted in the center.

We disapprove of any temporary augmentation of presidential powers. [passage omitted]

Slovak Communists Criticize Havel 10 Dec Speech

AU1312161590 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 12 Dec 90 p 3

["(UR)"-signed report: "The Essence of the Dispute is Elsewhere"]

[Text] Bratislava—The demagogic offensive by some constitutional officials cannot be perceived as a kind of "crusade against Slovak separatism," but as an attempt to constitute an undemocratic form of coexistence

between Czechs and Slovaks in our joint state. In essence, it is possible to summarize in this way the views expressed at yesterday's regular briefing by Peter Weiss, chairman of the Communist Party of Slovakia—Party of the Democratic Left [KSS—SDL], about the grave internal political situation associated with the jurisdiction law.

The real dispute lies in the different methods of comprehending the federation's structure, a structure which the Slovak side views as the coexistence of equal with equal. However, some of the federal representatives—President Vaclav Havel also aligned himself with them the day before yesterday—assert a policy of strong centralism from which the republics' authority would then be drawn. Therefore, the question is not "a federation or not, but what kind of federation," stated Peter Weiss. The propagandistic misleading of the domestic—as well as foreign—public, which is oriented toward accusing Slovak political representatives of separatism, is a gross distortion of the facts aimed at "obscuring" what is actually going on and at distracting attention from discussions on the transformation law and the land law.

As far as the speech delivered by the CSFR president is concerned, this "dramatized the situation even more and pushed it onto a psychological level." In this sense, it is understandable that in his speech he did not deal with the causes of the situation, but merely oriented himself toward drawing conclusions from their consequences. The KSS-SDL will support his proposal for the establishment of a constitutional court; communist deputies have submitted an initialed law to the Federal Assembly as an alternative to the president's proposal. It also supports the possibility of holding referenda which, however, must not become a political instrument for the assertion of centralist tendencies. Apropos increasing the president's powers, the KSS-SDL representative stated that the issue of his current powers—which are greater than those of G. Husak at the end of his term in office—has still not been resolved.

Mlynarik Attacked by Member of Own Faction

AU1312181190 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 90 p 16

[Interview with Jan Mlynarik, deputy to the Federal Assembly for the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, by "(nel)" in the "One Question For" column; place and date not given]

[Text] [LIDOVE NOVINY] Can you, as a historian, think of a situation that could be compared to the present level of Czech-Slovak relations?

[Mlynarik] No, I cannot, with the possible exception of the fall of 1938. Yet at that time it was the result of outside pressure. The present situation results from internal misunderstanding motivated, I would say, by the unfulfilled ambitions of individuals who confuse general well-being (res publica) with personal wishes. Politics is the art of the possible, which means that it requires compromise, agreement, and tolerance. It is not a political culture when ultimatums, blackmail, scheming, and bickering, to which we bear witness on the Slovak side today, are applied in politics. I can raise the bar to 250 centimeters [allusion to a recent statement by Slovak Prime Minister Meciar that he deliberately sets himself unrealistically high targets in negotiations so that he can reach his goal even if those targets are not met] when I am selling a horse but not when I conduct negotiations with the Czech prime minister.

Slovak Standpoint on Law of Spheres of Competence

AU1412094490 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 8 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Stefan Hrcka report: "Centralist Unitarianism in the Garb of Federation"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Ivan Carnogursky, first deputy prime minister of the Slovak Government, and Slovak Republic Finance Minister Michal Kovac informed journalists about the course of the morning meeting of the Slovak National Council Presidium and the Slovak Republic Government Presidium. There are differences about at least four principal issues. The first one is the central banking system—the central bank. The Slovak National Council proposed, in conformity with the agreement concluded by three governments, that the law on the spheres of competence include the principle that the central bank be managed by a board of the bank, headed by a governor, and composed of an identical number of citizens from the Czech Republic and from the Slovak Republic. The entire board would thus be composed of an odd number of members. A citizen of the Czech Republic would the governor over one term and would be replaced by a citizen of the Slovak Republic in the following term. The Czech National Council proposed that the bank be headed by a governor only. It omitted the provision about the board of the bank and about alternating the nationality of the governor. Minister Kovac commented on this: "We consider the system of the central bank to be so important that it should be anchored directly in the constitutional law. I consider the argument that it should be included in the law on the Czechoslovak State Bank as being weak, since other, less important provisions are included in the law on the spheres of competence. Moreover, an ordinary law on the state bank can be changed any time—the principle that one national group cannot be outvoted by the other does not apply here—while a constitutional law cannot be changed at just any time."

The second difference pertains to the gas and crude oil pipelines. The Czech National Council proposes that the problems connected with the crude oil pipeline be in the jurisdiction of the federal legislation. "If we remove such an important part of the economy from the jurisdiction of the republics, then the republican governments will not be able to control or influence it. This is unacceptable," Ivan Carnogursky explained.

The third problem is connected with the post offices—these post offices represent a peculiar system. The representatives of the Slovak supreme state organs do not agree that the post offices should be placed under the jurisdiction of the federation. They are even of the opinion, that the telecommunications should also be in the jurisdiction of the republics, yet the Slovak National Council's draft does not include this, since the Council respects the concluded agreements.

The fourth difference is whether the law on nationalities should be in the jurisdiction of the republics or the federation. In M. Kovac's opinion, "this is not such a serious problem as to cause some controversy; it can be either in the jurisdiction of the federation or of the republics."

Next week the draft amendment to the Czechoslovak federation will be discussed at the joint meeting of the Federal Assembly Chamber of People and Chamber of Nations. If the Federal Assembly does not pass the law presented by the Slovak National Council, then three alternatives may arise. The first alternative is that the Federal Assembly will not pass any of the drafts, saying the question of the spheres of competence will be solved in the new constitution. Such a postponement would seriously complicate the approval of the state budgets and the discussions about other laws by which the market mechanism is to be introduced. Such postponement would probably require taking more actions directed toward preventing the slowdown of the implementation of the reform.

A second alternative would be to consider what compromises could be made, particularly with respect to the four already mentioned principal differences between the drafts prepared by the Czech National Council and by the Slovak National Council. These drafts are not the only issue, however, because the Federal Assembly deputies may present even more amendments and drafts. According to M. Kovac, the draft presented by the Slovak National Council is "a result of the agreements made by the three governments and any changes to it would violate, in fact, existing agreements and, in a certain way, they would destabilize the situation. Our task at this moment is to persuade the deputies that such an important document as the draft law on the spheres of competence—springing up from political agreements and confirmed by the three governments—should really be passed in its present wording." There is also a third alternative, the most disastrous one, that is, that the Federal Assembly will not pass any law on the spheres of competence. This is all on the subject of the existing principal differences and the situations that may arise. [passage omitted]

Calfa Comments on Competence Bill Misunderstandings

AU1412100590 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 11 Dec 90 p 2

[Report on an interview with Marian Calfa, prime minister of the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic, by an unidentified reporter, in Prague on 10 December: "Noise in the Channel"]

[Text] Prague—Replying to a question of whether he is under duress to resign his post, Marian Calfa said no, and added that the decisive factor for him is the standpoint of the Federal Assembly and of the president of the republic. F. Gal, a representative of the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, when commenting on the Slovak prime minister's speech, Marian Calfa continued, told me that we, in Prague, draw far-reaching conclusions from utterances of a single person. What V. Meciar said regarding my person was neither the stance of the Slovak Government nor of the Slovak National Council or the VPN movement—it simply came from the Slovak prime minister who is the way he is. The Slovak prime minister fires off something, then for three days he keeps silent, and we conclude that the republic is disintegrating. However, it is not like that, and we have to get used to this style, M. Calfa concluded.

In other responses to questions, he stated that the entire situation came to a head because there was some "noise in the channel" between the Czech and the Slovak Republics and it resulted in distorted reception. Another reason for the misunderstanding is, according to M. Calfa, the different political atmosphere in the two republics. While "Vladimir Meciar needed to look like a victor" in Slovakia, the relationship between the prime minister and the deputies in the Czech National Council is different. The proposals from the meeting of the three governments were discussed and the deputies asked to have some issues explained.

Roots of Crisis Seen in Czech Attitude

AU1412103190 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Dec 90 p 3

[Igor Cibula commentary: "Prague is Writing Meciar Off"]

[Text] The predominant topic of the discussions in the lobbies at the working meeting of the Civic Forum [OF] held in Olomouc not so long ago was the dispute between the Czechs and Slovaks about the law on the spheres of competence. The dispute also touched on relations with the coalition partner—the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement, which, at this meeting, was represented by Fedor Gal, its supreme representative. The mood of the majority of the participants in the meeting in Olomouc can be demonstrated on the following example. The chairman of the Slovak Council of the VPN movement, who was supposed to participate—along with OF's representatives—in the news conference, did not participate in it because of the protests resulting from the plenum. This episode is an indication of a rift in the relations within the coalition of the OF and the VPN movement. We can hardly expect that the situation will improve, if the Public Against Violence movement does not give up its support of Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar.

In Prague political circles the opinion prevails that the personality of the Slovak Government prime minister is

the main reason for the conflict that arose in connection with the draft constitutional law, according to which some issues will be removed from the jurisdiction of the federation and placed under the jurisdiction of the republics. The criticism of Meciar has the nature of personal attacks, however, and only few observers note a wider context in the current situation. More sober analysts did not miss the fact that Czechs perceive current Slovak needs in a much different way than what they actually are. Not only national identity is the issue. Above all, social and economic problems in the Slovak Republic will require a specific attitude and some projects to be undertaken independently of the global intentions of the federal administration. The lack of understanding of this situation leads to a superficial conclusion that the attempts to put Slovakia on equal footing with the Czech lands in the federation are only ill-concealed tendencies toward separatism, or the manifestations of the desire to "satisfy one's personal ambitions."

President Vaclav Havel attempted to show the problems endangering the existence of the Czech and Slovak state in a more positive light in his speech yesterday in federal parliament. In the lobbies, a number of Slovak deputies expressed doubts whether this was the best step. The legislative procedures to be implemented as a result of the draft laws proposed by the president may stop the crisis—which is a consequence of the dispute about the law on the spheres of competence—for a while, yet they will not provide guarantees that the roots of the crisis will be removed.

A referendum, as well as a more authoritative presidency, can serve as prescriptions for a temporary solution to the current situation, yet, in their final effect, they may complicate relations between the Czechs and Slovaks even more. It is improper to cast doubts on the legitimacy of the behavior of Slovak representatives by pointing out that the constitution of the federation is still in force. We should realize that this constitution was established under different historical conditions, when the Slovaks did not have a real chance to articulate their own views about the arrangement of the state.

Meciar Rejects Czech Anti-Slovak Accusations

AU1412130290 Prague SVOBODNE SLOVO in Czech 12 Dec 90 pp 1, 3

[Jana Vrzalova report on an interview with Slovak Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar; place and date not given: "The Accusations Were Far Reaching...."]

[Text] "I do not think that the situation is so dramatic that extraordinary powers are required for the president," said Slovak Prime Minister V. Meciar in an interview for SVOBODNE SLOVO, CTK, and RUDE PRAVO.

Apropos the speech delivered by the president in parliament, he stated that he agrees with the proposals for the establishment of a constitutional court and for the legalization of referenda. "Some of the comments made by the president on Monday [10 December] about Slovakia were a little one-sided and they contained inaccuracies because it is not only Slovak nationalists who are threatening to split or jeopardize the federation. It has been forgotten that there are substantial and strong streams in the Czech Lands which think in a similar fashion and which feel that perhaps it would be better without Slovaks. We are often bewildered about how to understand Czech policy. We know that your political scene is very multifarious, that the Civic Forum [OF] led by Klaus does not represent the entire political spectrum, and that there are special interest groups within the OF itself. We have to wait until political development in the Czech Lands matures, but—despite this—I do not think that people here should become united in anti-Slovak moods and points of view...."

The Slovak prime minister also discussed the internal political situation: "I am annoyed by propaganda in the Czech Lands that is founded upon creating an image of the Slovak enemy, the image of nationalists or separatists. We have held consultations with nationalist political forces, but journalists in the Czech Lands—particularly in LIDOVE NOVINY, the OF daily—have done such a disservice to the coexistence of Czechs and Slovaks that the scars which they have caused on the consciousness of both nations will take a long time to heal." (Author's note: LIDOVE NOVINY has "An Independent Czechoslovak Daily" as its masthead)

In reply to a question connected with the considered declaration of the sovereignty of Slovak National Council [SNR] laws over Federal Assembly laws, Prime Minister Meciar said: "I would be glad if one person could be found to prove that I declared somewhere sometime that the sovereignty of SNR laws will be accepted over the federal laws. This whole thing is untrue; I never said that. As far as the statement on Conversations From Lany that I violated some agreement is concerned, I did not violate any agreement. Someone else violated it, someone else to whom I had to respond on Friday [7 December] because the accusations directed at the Slovak side were very far reaching."

V. Meciar also spoke about his participation in the Federal Assembly plenary sessions: "Following the completion of the talks on the jurisdiction laws, I will consider whether I should give up my deputy's mandate. At the moment, the Public Against Violence [VPN] movement is recommending that I remain in parliament for the time being. You yourselves know very well that it is impossible to carry out both functions properly; I cannot take part here. It would be more useful and more just if someone else were to sit here during debates. Believe me, I would rather leave politics completely and devote more time to my hobbies."

Havel Content With Adoption of Power-Sharing Bill

AU1712134890 Prague CTK in English 1536 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Barcelona Dec 13 (CTK reporter)—Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel is satisfied that the Federal Assembly passed the Law on the Division of Powers and is convinced that its adoption will hasten the start of economic reform in the whole country, his spokesman Michael Zantovsky told journalists today.

He was speaking aboard a plane carrying President Havel and a Czechoslovak delegation from Madrid to Barcelona during their current visit to Spain .

According to Zantovsky, Havel believes that crises similar to that which took place before the adoption of the law on power sharing might repeat themselves in future and that the proposals which he submitted to parliament on Monday are still topical.

The approval of the legislation by 237 votes against 34 and 17 abstentions yesterday wound up several months of talks between the Federal, Czech, and Slovak Governments, dramatic at times, on the division of powers between them. In the last phase they threatened to turn into an insoluble situation when it was indicated that the Slovak representation would not be prepared to accept some alterations in the original draft even if approved by parliament.

In this situation, President Havel proposed on Monday the adoption of legislation without delay on the establishment of a Constitutional Court and on referendum and said he would seek extension of presidential powers for the period before a new federal constitution is adopted. It had originally been intended to solve the issue of a Constitutional Court in the new constitution.

Provisions of Approved Power-Sharing Law Specified

AU1712162490 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 14 Dec 90 p 2

[Petr Sabata commentary: "What Happened, in Fact?"]

[Text] The approval of the amendment to the Constitutional Law on the Czechoslovak Federation, which newly defines the powers of the federation and the republics, can be assessed from two angles of vision. The parliament approved the law, thereby steering clear of a constitutional crisis and of the abyss foreshadowed in the president's speech [to the Federal Assembly on 10 December]. It came to terms with the pressure and the highly nervous atmosphere prior to the final debate, both of which had been caused by others. Even though individual deputies were disappointing in their at times almost hysterical outbursts, the Federal Assembly as a whole passed the test with flying colors. It behaved like a responsible political institution, which is what Czechoslovakia needs at this moment. And that is a pleasant surprise.

But at the same time it is necessary to examine what kind of a law the parliament passed, in fact. First and foremost, the new constitutional delineation of powers entrusts certain matters to the exclusive sphere of competence of either the federation or the republics, with the second group of powers being far more extensive than is the case now. The law characterizes the powers of the federation and specifies that everything else "belongs" to the republics. The federation will, for example, determine the principles of a uniform financial and budget policy. It will do so on the basis of an agreement between the governments. The significance of this provision in the transformation of the economy hopefully does not have to be stressed. Briefly speaking, the federation determines the principles and the concepts and adopts fundamental laws for many spheres of activity. This applies, for example, to taxes and levies, prices, foreign economic relations, economic strategy, economic policy (including the principles of "policy on raw materials, fuels, and energy"), transportation and communications, environment (legislative regulation of basic issues, concept of the CSFR ecological policy, information systems), the sphere of labor, wages, and social policy (development of wages, fixing of minimum wages), etc. The new legislation has no bearing on the indisputable powers of the federation such as defense, foreign policy, or currency. Let us include in our brief recapitulation the outcome of some disputes. The question of ownership of oil pipelines, transit gas pipelines, and major [nadrazene] electricity distribution systems has been put off for safety's sake and entrusted to some future Federal Assembly law. It is expected, however, that even prior to such a law being passed the problem will be resolved by corporations (participation in which the governments will have to agree on), which will own and administer these networks. The questions of national minorities, ethnic groups, churches, and religious communities will be regulated by federal laws, if necessary for the unity of the legal order. The post of governor of the central bank will be held by a citizen of the Czech Republic alternately with a citizen of the Slovak Republic.... On the other hand, the majority of deputies denied the federation [the right to control] information systems and crucial agricultural issues.

What follows from this enumeration, a complete and accurate rendition of which can be found in the approved text? The prime ministers of the governments, who will be affected by it in practice, expressed satisfaction. Yet hardly anyone can foresee all the repercussions of the new division of powers. [Civic Forum deputy and CTK director] Petr Uhl was right when he said in the debate: "We are entering unexplored terrain." And what happens in this terrain will once again depend on agreement between federal and republican representations. Following the experience of the past few weeks one can only expect that nothing pleasant is in store for us, unless the federal and republican representatives learn from the responsible and cultivated conduct of parliament.

Carnogursky: Havel's Speech 'Absolutely Unwarranted'

AU1812123590 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 13 Dec 90 p 13

[Interview with Ivan Carnogursky, deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, by Marta Ruzickova; place

and date not given: "What V. Meciar Did Not Say"—reprinted from the 12 December issue of SLOVENSKY DENNIK; opening paragraph is NARODNA OBRODA introduction]

[Text] Ivan Carnogursky, first deputy chairman of the Slovak National Council, was among those who participated in the Federal Assembly session [on the division of powers between the federation and the republics]. SLOVENSKY DENNIK [daily of the Christian Democratic Movement] No. 203 asked him what impression President V. Havel's speech made on him and whether he regards his speech as warranted.

[Carnogursky] "It was not warranted. Moreover, it was based on flawed premises, which, at this moment, definitely cannot be formulated the way he did it," Ivan Carnogursky replied.

[Ruzickova] What were these flawed premises?

[Carnogursky] The president described the situation in the republic as catastrophic and claimed that the republic is threatened with political and, consequently, economic collapse. He deduced this from various examples. This is not the case, however. At this moment the law on division of powers really is the sole politically disputed problem. It is a problem which has been debated for a sufficiently long time in all its dimensions—Slovak, Czech, as well as Czechoslovak. One day before the president made his speech, we arrived at the last version, which was worked out by the Federal Assembly's Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees following our personal appearances in individual [parliamentary] committees. We examined the question of powers in great detail in all committees. The debate was tempestuous at times but we always managed to arrive at some conclusion. The final outcome of all this was the material drafted by the Federal Assembly's Constitutional and Legal Affairs Committees, which is almost identical with the original Slovak text. It is identical with it in three out of four critical points. The question of [control over] postal services was the only point on which complete agreement had not been reached. We were getting ready for the debate in the Federal Assembly plenum and we were quite optimistic. President Havel's speech came like a bolt from the blue.

[Ruzickova] But the political situation was being whipped up since Friday [7 December]....

[Carnogursky] I beg you, the political situation is another matter. It is not directly related to the gist of the bill under discussion, to the gist of the problem. The political situation is the politicians' business. It depends on how they present it, on how they interpret their own views, and on what remarks they drop or do not drop. I very attentively followed the statements by Slovak Republic Prime Minister V. Meciar and Slovak National Council Chairman F. Miklosko following the joint meeting [of the Slovak Government and parliament] on Friday [7 December]. Neither one of them used in his speech the formulation that we were about to declare the supremacy of Slovak National Council laws over Federal Assembly laws. Someone may have interpreted it in this way, given the context, because, prior to this, Czech Prime Minister P. Pithart had spoken about it in such oversimplified terms [polopatisticky]. And because no one refuted his words, everyone thought that V. Meciar, too, was speaking about this in his statement. Yet Meciar did not put it like that. It is true, on the other hand, that all possible scenarios had been discussed at that joint meeting of the Slovak Republic Government and the Slovak National Council Presidium, including the negative ones which could come to pass if.... Following all these contemplations we decided by the vote of the overwhelming majority that all our steps would be strictly in compliance with the Constitution. This was the outcome of that emergency Friday session of the Slovak National Council Presidium and the Slovak Republic Government in Bratislava. The president learned directly from the mouth of F. Miklosko, chairman of the Slovak National Council, what conclusions had been drawn and his speech was therefore absolutely unwarranted. It needlessly set off a storm where there should not have been any thunder. It would have been absurd to declare the supremacy of Slovak National Council laws over Federal Assembly laws because the Constitution itself allows for constitutional steps which make it possible to work one's way, gradually, even beyond that. He who would have done this would let himself down before history and the international public and would not make use of what is available to him.

Finance Minister on Budget Regulation Law Changes

LD1312215690 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Report by Jaroslav Skalicky on 13 December session of ninth joint session of the Federal Assembly chambers, including recorded interview with Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus, in Prague]

[Text] [Skalicky] On the agenda of the deliberations were originally three bills, but in the end only one of them was adopted—the law on budget regulations of the federation. It was the first to be discussed after yesterday's adoption of the power-sharing law. It was the first thing to which Federal Finance Minister Vaclav Klaus reacted when I asked him to sum up the most important principles of the new law.

[Klaus] It is only now that we see—it is the first case—how difficult it is to implement the power-sharing law, to specify it and achieve something through it. It is because the power-sharing law is still in a rough form, and only now are we dealing with its intricacies by a number of laws, such as the one adopted today. We can see how many problems are still to be solved here. This means it is not and will not be easy.

[Skalicky] What are the main changes brought by this amendment in this kind of issue in comparison with the previous one?

[Klaus] The most important change is really the declaration and specification of what is in fact the independence of the budgets, or their sovereignty, in other words that each one of the three budgets is an individual entity. This is a fundamental change, as in the past a certain amount of revenue reached the federal budget, and from there money was put elsewhere—redistributed to the republics according to the needs as recognized by the federal budget. This is no longer the case. Now each of the budgets is actually run on the basis of its own independent principle, and it is no doubt a change, a significant change.

[Skalicky] Every budget has two faces—incomes and expenses. What will be the federation's incomes?

[Klaus] The federation's incomes is formed by something that is specifically federal, something which cannot in fact be carried out by the republics; customs duty is a classical example of such an entity, because customs duty is collected at any customs point at the border, but the goods can be consumed perhaps at a totally different place. This means that some incomes are specifically federal, and they are the basis of the federal budget's income. These incomes would of course not be enough as they are relatively small. The other kind of income comes from a share of the two biggest taxes—sales tax and profit tax—and a certain proportional scheme was set up to give part of them to the federation. This means there are two kinds of income—a specifically federal one and a share in what is common. This is what was set today at 35 percent in harmony with the 1991 draft budget.

[Skalicky] What is going to be paid for by the federal budget?

[Klaus] As it is a smaller budget it will of course pay for substantionally less than in the past. Therefore, the deputies, being aware of it or not, in fact also approved a significant reduction of their powers. In the past they were able to discuss if they so desired to give larger subsidies of this kind, to help this or that branch of industry, increase expenses for whatever item. Now, all of sudden it becomes clear that the range of items for which the federal budget can be used is sharply reduced, and the range of items for which the budgets of the republics are to be used is increased. Let nobody ask the federal finance minister and a deputy in the Federal Assembly anymore how much is given to health care, culture, and education, and a number of other items. They simply do not have any possibility to decide about it. This is a significant change, and I think that people should realize this too, though they are still going to blame the federal finance minister for something that is no longer within his authority following the adoption of the power-sharing bill, as it is now within the powers of the republics.

Former Interior Minister Kincl Prosecuted

AU1412123590 Prague CTK in English 1740 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 12 (CTK)—A spokesman for the chief military prosecutor told CTK today that criminal proceedings have been started against Frantisek Kincl, Czechoslovak interior minister until December 3, 1989.

Kincl, together with former First Deputy Minister Alojz Lorenc and former Chief of Counterintelligence Karel Vykypel, have been accused of repeatedly ordering and implementing steps in 1988-1989 for what was called "paralyzing undesirable activities of anti-socialist forces". They thus prevented many people from using their personal freedoms, the official charge said. It noted that the orders were given at times of expected public protests, especially on various anniversaries.

The spokesman, Jan Dubensky, said that the three are accused under the sections of the Criminal Law Concerning the Abuse of Powers of a Pubic Official and Restriction of Personal Freedom.

Lorenc has been in custody on the first count since October 25 and the charge against him has now been extended. He was taken into custody for the first time in connection with the investigation of a police attack on students in a demonstration which touched off the public protests on November 17, 1989, but was released last July 12.

The spokesman said that Kincl, whose name has not so far appeared in the investigations, would be interrogated by a staff of the Military Prosecutor's Office at Pribram, Central Bohemia, at Kincl's place of residence. He will be taken into custody if there are reasons for it, the spokesman said.

Vykypel was interrogated on December 11 and is now in custody.

Subordination of Intelligence to Interior Opposed

AU1112125290 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 3 Dec 90 p 2

[Open letter by employees of the Office of the Federal Ministry of Interior for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy to the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committee: "Concerns About Democracy"]

[Text] Prague—On Friday [30 November], 25 recently hired employees of the Office of the Federal Ministry of Interior for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy sent an open letter to the Federal Assembly Defense and Security Committee. The letter contains the following:

We are among the newly hired employees of the Office of the Federal Ministry of Interior for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy. At present, we are

acquiring the essential skills for our work at the Federal Ministry of Interior Institute in Zastavka near Brno. Ever more frequently, however, we are overcome by fears that the ideals for which we left our former professions and accepted a misson—to use somewhat elevated language—with the newly forming intelligence service, remain unfulfilled. Similarly the fundamental condition; that is to say the separation of the intelligence service, under any name, from the Federal Ministry of Interior and its subordination to the Federal Assembly of Interior remains unfulfilled. Such is the case even though President Havel and other state officials repeatedly mentioned this condition which was a decisive factor in our selection and eventual agreement with the change of profession. Today, this issue is quite confusing and we feel that the position of the Federal Ministry of Interior is being slowly enhanced. Therefore, we take the liberty of pointing out to you that we cannot accept the status quo, and that eventual victory of the Federal Ministry of Interior and its permanent superiority would mean a serious danger to the preservation and the future of democracy in our state.

Thus, we turn to you, deputies of the Defense and Security Committee, whom we believe should immediately deal with this, in our perception, extremely serious situation, and employ all means at your disposal for the speediest possible settlement of this issue.

Minister Langos on New Intelligence Service

AU1312140390 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 7 Dec 90 pp 1,2

[Alena Slezakova, Martin Danes, and Drahuse Probostova report: "A Tough Day in the Parliament"]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] On Thursday evening [6 December], Federal Interior Minister Jan Langos acquainted the deputies of the Defense and Security Committees of the Federal Assembly People's Chamber and Chamber of Nations with the security situation in the CSFR and with the proposed structure as well as the concept of the Federal Information Service as the Office for the Protection of the Constitution and Democracy is now called.

He described the migration wave from the East, which will materialize after the expected opening of the Soviet border, as the greatest possible danger to Czechoslovakia in upcoming months. The states neighboring with the USSR do not have the required conditions to become a great refugee or even transit camp.

In the presence of journalists, the minister spoke only of the basic structure of the Federal Information Service. Later, behind closed doors, he explained to the deputies the details of the concept and his explanation was supplemented by Jiri Novotny, director of the office. Territorially the Federal Information Service will consist of a Prague center and offices in Bratislava and Brno. The distribution of other offices will be decided on by the Federal Information Service director together with the Federal Government. The center will include a department of analysis, an operational bloc, a and task force for individual assignments.

Government Takes Stand on Fuel Price Changes

AU1212102890 Prague HOSPODARSKE NOVINY in Czech 7 Dec 90 p 1

["(ms)"-signed report: "Secretiveness About Prices"]

[Excerpt] The undeniably most interesting items on the agenda of yesterday's regular session of the Federal Government were the proposal for standardizing sales tax on industrial and food products and changes to the retail prices of fuels and heating.

Although the government adopted a stand on these problems, both of which are of principal significance for the public, at the news conference held after the government session journalists did not learn anything about its content. The supreme executive body of state power reserved the right to first brief the CSFR Council of Economic and Social Accord on its stand. As we have been informed, however, IMF experts had already been familiarized with the impact of the proposed changes on the revenues and expenditures of the state budget and had approved of them. The assertion that the tripartite council will be "the first" to learn about the proposed adjustments therefore smacks of tokenism [alibismus] on the government's part, to say the least. [passage omitted]

Governments Reach Compromise on Federal Television

AU1712125990 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 11 Dec 90 p 2

[Interview with CSFR Deputy Prime Minister Jozef Miklosko by a "(tln)"-signed MLADA FRONTA DNES reporter, in the "We Asked" column; place and date not given]

[Text] [MLADA FRONTA DNES] Talks were held on Friday [7 December] on the future of television broadcasting in Czechoslovakia. What is the outcome?

[Miklosko] The new law on division of powers will make it possible for two televisions to be set up—Czech Television and Slovak Television. At the same time there will be federal broadcasting, yet not above but alongside the two televisions. Federal broadcasting will make news and current affairs programs and programs concerning foreign affairs and questions of defense. Czech and Slovak Television will be duty bound to include these topics in their programs to an appropriate degree. In other words, the F 1 channel [the current federal program] will be made jointly by Czech Television and Slovak Television with federal entries. Licenses for private broadcasting will also be issued by the republics. All participating sides gave their consent to this proposal.

UN Ambassador on Losses Caused by Gulf Crisis

AU1412124390 Prague CTK in English 1211 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] New York Dec 12 (CTK reporter)—Czechoslovakia lost some 2,000 million dollars this year alone in consequence of the Persian Gulf crisis, Czechoslovak permanent representative in the U.N., Ambassador Eduard Kukan told participants yesterday in a working group of the special U.N. Security Council Committee for monitoring sanctions against Iraq.

Dealing with the extraordinarily grave consequences of the crisis for Czechoslovakia's economy, he said that, immediately after the declaration of sanctions against Iraq, the Czechoslovak Government adopted strict measures for their observance but its respect for the sanctions has a negative impact on the country's economy.

Outstanding debts in Iraq alone, repayable this year, amount to some 400 million dollars, withdrawal from contracts has resulted in a loss of 392 million dollars, higher oil prices in a loss of 400-600 million dollars, and reduction and suspension of the home production in further 400 million dollars.

It must be stressed that these losses occurred in the least suitable period of the economic reform, having more destructive influences than they would have had under different circumstances, he said.

Soviet Troop Withdrawal To Be Completed Jun 91

LD1712225990 Prague CTK in English 2125 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 17 (CTK)—Soviet troops are being withdrawn from Czechoslovakia in keeping with the fixed timetable, with sufficient goodwill and trust on both sides, chairman of a Czechoslovak parliamentary commission supervising the withdrawal Michael Kocab said in Milovice, northeast of Prague, today.

So far more than 72 percent of the Soviet troops (53,000 people) stationed in Czechoslovakia have already left and there still remain about 20,500, 15,000 at Milovice itself. All rocket-launching equipment and war helicopters have been withdrawn, as well as 90 percent of artillery, 88 percent of tanks, 80 percent of aircraft and 70 percent of automobiles.

Members of the commission, who visited the Milovice base, were interested mainly in ecological problems. A representative of a Prague geological firm detecting the extent of contamination within the military zone said that some Soviet guards have been preventing men from pumping contaminated water from trial holes. A litre of water has been found to contain two up to three millimetres of aircraft fuel.

Members of the commission and the command of the Soviet troops agreed that the Soviet side would evacuate an airfield near the base for dumping contaminated soil and would provide Czechoslovak ecological experts access to the affected districts.

The last Soviet soldier will have left Slovakia when a garrison at Roznava, East Slovakia, is withdrawn on Saturday, December 22. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Czechoslovakia is to be completed by June 30, 1991.

Dienstbier Proposes International Aid Projects

AU1712133590 Prague CTK in English 2135 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 13 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Government said today that Czechoslovakia should seek its participation in projects that might be carried out in the Soviet Union with international aid.

An aid program along these lines, which would enable also other East European countries to draw advantage from international aid, was proposed by Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier during his visit at Harvard University in the United States last May.

The government said that Czechoslovakia should submit tenders for such projects in the Soviet Union, taking advantage of its previous experience there, and cooperate closely with partners in Poland and Hungary.

The government asked the Ministry of Strategic Planning and the Economic Council to prepare concrete proposals by the end of January which would also involve projects by the three Central European countries for environmental improvements in the area and its links with Europe.

The government approved a payments agreement with the Soviet Union under which all payments for goods and services between the two countries will be in hard currency from next January 1. The possibilities of using the national currencies for some noncommercial payments are yet to be discussed.

The government agreed to recommend to the Federal Assembly bills on referendums and on a constitutional court, which were proposed by President Vaclav Havel on Monday.

Deputy Prime Minister Pavel Rychetsky told a press conference later that referendums could be declared in case of an impending constitutional crisis by the president of the republic at the recommendation of the Federal Assembly or government, or by the president but in that case the government would have the right of veto.

The constitutional court should protect the Constitution, defend the interests of citizens, solve disputes over the division of powers between the federation and its two constituent republics and have the authority to dissolve a political party which would act against the Constitution. The court would have twelve members, six each from the Slovak and Czech Republics. They would be appointed by the president.

The government dealt with a report on preliminary talks on Czechoslovakia's association agreement with the European Community held last October. It approved the further course for official talks of experts on the agreement. The negotiations should end in the first half of next year. Both sides are interested in the agreement to come into force in 1992.

The government accepted the proposal of the Finance Ministry to reduce the number of sales tax rates on industrial and food products to four from next January 1. The tax rates will be 0, 12, 22 and 32 percent. After the removal of subsidies on food products last July this tax reform is another step to the deregulation of prices from the beginning of next year. This is not to increase the overall level of retail prices except fuel and energy charges on which special regulations are applied.

The government decided to put off its decision on an increase in the prices of fuel and heating. It should be discussed with the Czech and Slovak Governments first and a government-supported program of cuts in consumption should be prepared as well as decisions on compensation to low-income strata.

Commission To Investigate Jaslovske Bohunice Plant

AU1712134790 Prague CTK in English 2244 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 13 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Minister-Chairman of the Federal Environment Committee Josef Vavrousek today set up a commission charged with detailed investigation of the situation in the nuclear power plant at Jaslovske Bohunice, West Slovakia, where two accidents occurred in 1976 and 1977.

In the first mishap, carbon dioxide leaked in fuel exchange, taking the toll of two lives. One year later, certain quantity of heavy water leaked into the cooling circuit when a pressure channel was damaged. No casualty was inflicted.

The commission, set up by the minister together with Chairman of the Czechoslovak Commission for Nuclear Power Karel Wagner and Deputy Economics Minister Jan Jicha on the basis of a report on the finding of traces of plutonium in the sediment of the Dudvah river, is to quickly work out necessary decontamination measures. A press conference on the matter is scheduled in Prague for December 17.

The Jaslovske Bohunice plant of the outdated Soviet V-1 type is Czechoslovakia's oldest nuclear plant which went into full operation in 1972. It has two units of an aggregate output of 1,760 MW. Another Czechoslovak nuclear plant is at Dukovany, South Moravia, and two more are being built at Mochovce, west Slovakia, and at Temelin, South Bohemia.

In Vienna today, Austrian Chancellor Franz Vranitzky favored closure of the Jaslovske Bohunice plant after a 30-member group of experts from Austria, Germany, Switzerland, and Yugoslavia submitted him a preliminary study on operational safety of the plant which it studied since last August. Jaslovske Bohunice is situated a mere 55 kilometers from the Czechoslovak-Austrian border.

Trade Unions on Social Problems in Central Europe

AU1712130290 Prague CTK in English 1400 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Prague Dec 14 (CTK)—Eastern and Central European countries are hit by a social crisis connected with the program of reforms, Roman Kovac, chairman of Czechoslovakia's biggest trade union center the Czech and Slovak Confederation of Trade Unions, told newsmen here today.

The situation in Czechoslovakia will be very difficult. The confederation, associating 65 trade unions with 6.5 million members, will concentrate above all on unemployment, social security, education of trade union functionaries, collective bargaining and protection of the workers' interests, he said.

The situation in Central and Eastern European countries was also discussed by the Executive Committee of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions in Tokyo at the beginning of this month. Members of the Executive Committee voiced their concern in connection with the social crisis in the European region in their "declaration on economic and social strategy for Central and Eastern Europe" which points out the risk of social impacts on these countries which might result in political shocks, and proposes concrete steps to prevent them. The document also underlines that it will be necessary to face the danger of a new mass exodus from the Soviet Union and Rumania, Roman Kovac said.

New Elections To Be Held in 24 Czech Communities

AU1812131390 Prague PRACE in Czech 13 Dec 90 p 2

["(mt)"-signed report: "To the Polls on Saturday"]

[Text] The [local] elections are not over. As we were told by Dr. Milos Slapak, member of the Central Electoral Commission, local elections will be held in 24 communities of the Czech Republic this Saturday [15 December], on the basis of a Czech National Council resolution. Most of them are small communities such as Krizovice, Rybne, Sklenne, Velke Hledsebe, Koci, Rabakov, or Kubernovice. The only larger city in which elections will be held is Havirov, a city which acquired a special status because of its size and economic importance. In most cases, the belated elections are caused by a failure to compile lists of candidates by the originally set deadline. But even after this Saturday the elections will not be completely over. In a few communities local

elections will be held as late as January. Only then will the central electoral commission be able to wind up its work.

Czech National Council Opens Plenary Session

LD1712163190 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1100 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Report on the Czech National Council's 12th plenary session in Prague]

[Excerpts] The meeting opened with a report noting that, despite the fact that the session was to take three days, the Czech National Council deputies will be in session until 22 December. Thanks to the fact that the Federal Assembly already discussed the budgetary rules of the federation and will most probably manage to discuss state budget already on 20 December, the Czech parliament will be able to discuss the draft bill of the 1991 republican budget and budgetary rules earlier than expected. While waiting for the results of the Federal Assembly deliberation, the Czech National Council deputies will discuss in committees the president's proposals for endorsement of constitutional bills on the constitutional court and referendum. So much then for the overall agenda of the 12th meeting. [passage omitted]

The first point on the agenda are the answers to deputies' interpellations. The plenum has so far accepted without any major objections the majority of written answers. There were, however, several exceptions. For example, Vladimir Budinsky was not absolutely satisfied with Petr Pithart's report on the issue of including the reorganization of security in the schedule of Czech Republic work until the end of the year. Interior Minister Tomas Sokol also spoke about this problem to assure the deputies that he already signed the main orders which will come into force next year and which concern the required reconstruction of security forces. The Interior Ministry regards the issue of police and civic security as a prime task. A tragic event of last night, about which Sokol informed deputies, also testifies to its importance: a police patrol member suffered a fatal injury while carrying out the task of auxiliary service. This is, of course, a sad event.

An unsatisfactory written answer by Milan Horak, Czech Republic minister of labor and social affairs, evoked raised attention of deputies, too. He answered the interpellation of deputies Josef Hejsek and Alios Valek concerning the case of personal old age pensions of militia members and merited party members. The deputies did not even accept the minister's oral statement, in which he called for social justice. They will, therefore, return to this interpellation on another occasion. [passage omitted]

CSL Official Wants Party To Leave Government

AU1112175690

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 7 December on page 3 carries a 1,500-word interview with Jiri Karas, deputy chairman of the Czechoslovak People's Party [CSL], by LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE reporter Jan Schwarz. In the interview, the place and date of which are not given, Karas expresses the opinion that the CSL should leave the Czech Republic coalition government and pursue a "consistent opposition policy."

Karas says that he considers the continued presence of "our ministers in the Czech Government to be politically unsustainable. One cannot boycott the Federal Government while supporting the Czech Government. It is simply impossible to sit on two chairs. We are becoming co-responsible for the woeful developments in the country without the possibility of significantly influencing the course of events." Karas points out that the country is in store for many radical changes next year, the most important of which will be a "marked differentiation of the population" between a "million-strong army of the unemployed" on the one hand and newly emerging millionaires on the other. He says that, as a Christian party, the CSL should support people in need. It should formulate a clear program for the new situation, "among the points of which I do not see a place for support of government policy." Karas rejects the interviewer's objection that being in opposition is "unconstructive." He says that it is precisely "a strong and functioning opposition" which the present Czechoslovak political system lacks. This void should be filled by the CSL, in his opinion, because only a strong opposition "is a regulator and guarantor of democracy."

Demonstration Urges Klaus To Set Up Own Party

AU1312162390 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 11 Dec 90 p 2

[Unattributed report: "Man is Falling Into Oblivion"]

[Text] Yesterday, on the Human Rights Day, young members of the Left Alternative, the Revival club, and the Czechoslovak Social Democracy staged a demonstration in Prague for the solution of social and ecological issues. Following a march through Prague a rally was held in Old Town square, at which speakers stressed, among other issues, that our economic reform gives priority to profit and efficiency while paying less heed to a wise economic and, hence, also social policy. "We concede Mr. Klaus and others the right to set up their own right-wing party. We ask them, however, not to arrogate to themselves the legacy and the symbols of the Civic Forum [OF]," it was said at the rally. "They must realize that the modern left, too, took shape on the OF's platform."

Elections To Be Held in 154 Slovak Communities

AU1212093190

[Editorial Report] Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 8 Dec page 6 carries an 800-word Marta Durkovska article entitled "Absence of Leadership and Civic Awareness." The article discusses the need to hold

new local elections in those Slovak towns and villages where, for various reasons, they did not take place on 23 and 24 November. According to Durkovska, these elections, which the Slovak National Council Presidium called for 19 January 1991, will be held in a total of 154 Slovak communities, in 31 out of 37 Slovak districts. In the communities concerned, political parties either failed to field the required minimum number of candidates for local self-administration bodies or did not put forward any candidates for the post of mayor. Durkovska does not rule out that the 19 January elections will not be the last round of voting in the communities concerned. A third round of voting would have to be held if no mayor is elected on 19 January or if the electoral commissions discover a case of violation of the electoral law on 19 January. Communities in which the 19 January elections do not yield any conclusive result (the election of a mayor and of a self- administration body) may also opt for merger with a neighboring community.

On the same day, on page 13, NARODNA OBRODA publishes the complete list of communities where local elections will be held on 19 January.

Slovak National Council Debates Draft Bills

LD1712210690 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1730 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Excerpts] The ninth session of the Slovak National Council started at 1000 this morning. [passage omitted] What have the deputies of the Slovak parliament managed to debate so far? This is our question to our colleagues Maria Hluchanova and Michal Tvarozek, who are at the Slovak National Council building:

[Tvarozek] I have to say that a lot has been done so far. The first stage of the four-day session started at a fast pace. At present, deputies are voting on amendments on the third and fourth draft bills—that is, on the election of people's judges and on the residences of ward, district, and regional courts. I should return at least briefly to the draft that have been discussed so far: the bill on the rules for the management of budget resources and the draft bill on the state administration of the environment have been approved by the deputies.

[Hluchanova] This—no longer a draft but a bill of the Slovak National Council—creates a new system of specialized organs for problems of the environment. Besides the already functioning Slovak commission for the environment, the bill also sets up lower-level units: that is, district and ward offices for the environment. No doubt you are asking in this connection if this is not yet another green light for more unnecessary officials. We have asked this question of Mikulas Huba, chairman of the Slovak National Council committee for the environment and the protection of the environment.

[Begin Huba recording] The increase that we may fear here is unnecessary—it is connected with an increase in the number of tasks and needs required by the new bills. [passage omitted] Surely we do not want to make savings at the expense of the environment again. This would not be right. I am one of the foremost of those fighting against excessive red tape, but we should, in my opinion, reduce it in the center. There exists a whole number of now unnecessary ministries which no longer exist in Bohemia: such as the Ministry of Construction, of Forestry and Water Economy, and other central organs of the state administration that have already been integrated and reduced in Bohemia.

I think that here we are somewhat behind. This is the main parasite on the body of our society. I would say: the excessive administration—unjustified—in the center. I think that we would not be saving much in wards—there we do need the people. [end recording]

[Hluchanova] That was Mikulas Huba. The ninth session of the Slovak National Council, where voting is still in progress on amendments on the above-mentioned draft bills, will continue tomorrow. The first item on the agenda then will be the government draft bill of the Slovak National Council on the insurance system.

Filkus Says Slovakia Worse Off Than Bohemia

AU1212122790 Prague CTK in English 1602 GMT 10 Dec 90

[Text] Bratislava Dec 10 (CTK)—Revival of Slovakia's economy may be expected in the second half of 1992, Slovak Economic Strategy Minister Rudolf Filkus told journalists here today.

According to him, the main tasks until 1992 include maintenance of the economy's functioning, acceleration of transition to the market economy, and necessary structural changes in the economy.

Filkus said that Slovakia's starting conditions of economic development are worse than those of the Czech Republic, e.g., a higher degree of conversion of engineering production, higher material intensiveness of production, etc. Slovak agriculture lacks 700,000 tonnes of grain.

The Slovak economy's performance is decreasing and is expected to be 10 percent lower this year than last year, the minister said.

According to him, the deregulation of prices due to start in all Czechoslovakia on January 1, 1991, will cause an increase of 35-40 percent in prices, while nominal wages would go up by 10-15 percent in Slovakia.

The unemployment rate is expected to be twice as high as in the Czech Republic, but should not exceed 10 percent of the total work force, Filkus said.

Horn Addresses Assembly on Relations With Romania

LD1712141390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1305 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Speech by Gyula Horn, chairman of the National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, at the National Assembly session in Budapest—live]

[Text] Esteemed National Assembly, allow me to convey the following on behalf of the Foreign Affairs Committee.

The National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee has reviewed the development of the relations of the Hungarian Republic and the neighboring countries. In this framework it has intensively examined the issue of Hungarian-Romanian relations. The committee has expressed its anxiety over the tensions that continue to be felt in Hungarian-Romanian relations. It considers regrettable that the turnabout in Romania one year ago, the overthrow of the Ceausescu dictatorship, did not fulfill the justified expectations and did not promote the settlement of the disputed and unresolved issues of Hungarian-Romanian relations.

In connection with the anniversary the Foreign Affairs Committee wishes to recall that in December 1989 our country's population extended immediate and wide-ranging material and moral support to the citizens of Romania in achieving the success of the turnabout and for overcoming the severe trials. The Government of the Hungarian Republic was the first to recognize the Council of National Salvation as Romania's only legal authority, and it made efforts in the interest of the new Romanian leadership's obtaining international recognition.

Hungarian public opinion was full of confidence that at the end of December 1989 the Bucharest discussions of the Hungarian and Romanian Government representatives there was an agreement on the tasks needed for the settling of Hungarian-Romanian relations based on new foundations. It is regrettable that because of the negative [elutasito] attitude of the Romanian Government organs it has not been possible for these agreements to be fulfilled until now. What is more, the nationalist voices have once again strengthened in Romania. The falsification of history happens repeatedly and the extremist elements' incitement against the national minorities has assumed worrying proportions.

The Foreign Affairs Committee expresses its profound anxiety over the unfounded attacks launched against Bishop Laszlo Tokes and writer Andras Suto. It wishes to remind Romania public opinion that Laszlo Tokes, similarly to the outstanding role he played in the December 1989 turnabout, has made and is making consistent efforts in the interest of the appeasement and harmonious coexistence of Romania's nationalities and the shaping of the country's democratic order. For this reason the attacks aimed against him harm the peoples of Romania as well.

The Foreign Affairs Committee considers urgent—and, for the settlement of relations, indispensable—the institutional guarantee of the assertion of the individual and collective rights of Romania's Magyardom as a national minority, and the creation of the conditions necessary for this. It also considers it necessary that the operation of the chief consulates be made possible, as well as the settlement of the affairs of those fleeing to Hungary from Romania. This is desired by the provisions of those international agreements relating to human rights to which Romania is likewise a party or wished to be a party.

The National Assembly's Foreign Affairs Committee, feeling responsibility for the improvement of Hungarian-Romanian relations, expresses its readiness to conduct objective and constructive- spirited discussions with the representatives of the Romanian legislature in the interest of ending the tensions in the two countries' relations. In accordance with this, it has proposed to Corneliu Manescu, chairman of the Romanian Parliament's Foreign Affairs Committee, that the two parliaments' representatives dealing with foreign affairs issues should meet in Budapest in the second half of January 1991.

Esteemed parliament, I ask you to kindly take cognizance of and approve the stance of the Foreign Affairs Committee. Thank you very much. [applause]

Military Framework Agreement Signed With Romania

LD1412180190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] The Hungarian and Romanian defense ministers have signed a military framework agreement. The agreement first and foremost enables a mutual familiarization with the national military doctrines. It provides for visits by delegations at various levels and for the establishment of mixed committees. It promotes the strengthening of scientific cooperation between the two armies and research at greater depth of events in which the viewpoints concerning the two people's histories vary. The document stresses that with the expected dissolution of the Warsaw Pact's military organization, bilateral military agreements between the neighboring countries are extremely important. Lajos Fur and Victor Stanculescu were the first to sign the Hungarian-Romanian framework agreement. According to the intention of the two defense ministers, this cooperation will openly and directly contribute to strengthening trust between the two countries and their armies.

Foreign Affairs Committee on Romanian Anniversary

AU1412110890 Budapest MTI in English 1932 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, 12 December (MTI)—In its Wednesday session, the Hungarian parliament's foreign affairs committee reviewed Hungary's relations with its neighbours.

The committee expressed deep anxiety over the sustained tensions in Hungarian-Romanian relations, and thought it regrettable that the overthrow of Ceausescu's

dictatorship one year ago had not come up to the just expectations, and had not promoted the settlement of the disputed issues of Hungarian-Romanian relations.

On the anniversary, the foreign affairs committee recalled that in December 1989, the Hungarian population had provided immediate and comprehensive material and moral support for the citizens of Romania in making the change successful, and in enduring the hard tribulations.

The committee sees it a pressing task, indispensable for the settlement of relations, to provide institutional guarantees and create appropriate conditions for the enforcement of the individual and collective rights of the Hungarians in Romania, open consulate-generals, and settle the affairs of those who had fled from Romania to Hungary.

Jeszenszky, Skubiszewski on Relations

LD1212174390 Budapest MTI in English 1619 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 12 (MTI)—Relying on their traditional system of relations, Hungary and Poland wish to continue to co-operate amidst the conditions of democracy and efforts to set up a market economy. The kind of co-operation they have in mind has no bearing on government set-ups, party power relations or politicians, Hungarian Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky said assessing the outcome of his talks with his Polish counterpart, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, at a news conference in Budapest on Wednesday.

The building of relations irrespective of the changing relations within the government seems particularly important in the light of the forthcoming government reshuffles in Hungary and Poland. On this score, Skubiszewski said that due to the time-consuming legal procedures accompanying the inauguration of the head of state, no consultations had yet begun on the formation of the new government. The Mazowiecki cabinet, whose resignation has not been accepted up to now, will remain in office in the meantime.

In this context, Skubiszewski gave a "no comment" reply to the question whether he can retain the foreign affairs portfolio in the new government, which in his view is not likely to come into office by late December.

Poland's renewed foreign policy will follow the same course regardless of the politicians in office, also under Walesa. As for the Hungarian connection, a stable element of Polish foreign policy, the trilateral scheme between Budapest, Prague and Warsaw appears to be a promising venture. The co-operation of the three countries is mainly aimed at economic development, but it also covers the co-ordination of security policy matters.

This means there is no question of setting up a new military mini alliance. According to Jeszenszky, the core of the Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Polish co-operation could be the development of direct company relations. As far as the Pentagonale is concerned, Poland believes it has a good chance of gaining admission to the Austrian-Hungarian-Czechoslovak-Yugoslav-Italian co-operation within a year with the help of Italy and Hungary. Jeszenszky reiterated Hungary's interest in expanding the Pentagonale with Poland. In the meantime, Poland could join in certain partial areas of the Danube-Adriatic-Pentagonale project.

With regard to the changing conditions in East-Central Europe, Foreign Minister Skubiszewski said that the collapse of the Warsaw Pact did not bring about a security political vacuum in the region. At the same time, he warned that the NATO must not be indifferent towards the security policy requirements of the region's countries.

Answering a question concerning the wave of migration to follow the Soviet travel eases, Skubiszewski said that although the impending problems should not be belittled, it would be too early to sound the alarm-bell. Should there really be such a massive wave of migration, it will be an all-European problem. The Hungarian foreign minister shared the view of his colleague that "the worries related to the migration wave are exaggerated, and there is no cause for fear of a new contemporary migration period."

Trade Deal for 1991 Signed With Yugolavia

LD1412234890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1913 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 14 (TANJUG)—Next year's total exchange of goods and services between Yugoslavia and Hungary will stand at 828 million dollars, nearly 20 per cent up on this year's exchange, which stood at 672 million. An agreement on next year's exchange was signed in Budapest on Friday.

Yugoslavia's deficit in exchanges with Hungary stood at 200 million dollars in the January-October period. The deficit was a result of the liberalization of agricultural imports and also the fact that Yugoslv enterprises were unprepared to adjust to the changes on the Hungarian market. Under the new agreement, enterprises of both countries are left full leeway in terms of exchanges of goods and services.

Trade Agreement Signed With Albania 12 Dec

LD1312160190 Budapest MTI in English 1330 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 13, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—Lajos Berenyi, deputy state secretary of the Ministry of International Economic Relations, and Altin Ylli, Albanian deputy foreign trade minister, on Wednesday signed a new trade agreement in Budapest.

Under the agreement the two countries will settle trade bills in hard currency as from January 1, 1991.

The agreement removes all quantitative restrictions on bilateral trade and no longer stipulates "indicative" lists of imports or exports which the governments of the two countries used to guarantee. All trade transactions will in future have to be agreed by the companies concerned.

This year, two-way trade is likely to amount to 32 million roubles. The annual trade figure has been around 40 million roubles for the last few years. Trade is expected to grow in the coming years because both countries have products which they will now be able to sell to each other in unrestricted quantities.

Hungarian light industrial and aluminium products and processed poultry sell well in Albania, while the main Hungarian imports are copper wire, tobacco, spices and canned products and marble.

Net year Albania wants to buy more vegetable oil, butter and quick-frozen chickens from Hungary, and Hungarian companies will probably continue purchases of copper wire and marble because these items will still be relatively cheap in Albania.

The new agreement states that any deliveries outstanding on either side from the current year will be accounted in roubles and can be settled up to June 30, 1991. Bills outstanding after that date can only be settled in hard cash.

Soviet Forces Withdraw From Taborfalva

LD1312133590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] The Soviet troop withdrawals from Hungary are continuing according to schedule. The scene of one event today is Taborfalva, from where Pal Varga sent a telephone report.

[Varga] The Taborfalva artillery division is saying farewell. According to the Soviet troop withdrawal plans the Kecskemet region's Taborfalva artillery division of the Southern Army, temporarily posted in our country, will leave the country today.

The military ceremony began at 1130 at the Taborfalva railway station, where in the presence of the members of the Hungarian Parliament Defense Committee, senior representatives from the Soviet Embassy in Budapest, and military and air attaches from several diplomatic missions, railway trucks loaded with Katyusha multiple rocket launchers, artillery shells, and other military equipment are at the time of our program ceremonially being sent on their way toward the Soviet border.

On the train, the last 70-80 Soviet soldiers and officers stationed in Taborfalva are also leaving for home. The Soviet barracks in Taborfalva will become virtually empty. Only a few guards are left behind. Within days, they will hand over the barracks to Hungarian authorities.

I have heard it said that the Soviet military leaders would not have made such a ceremony of today's Taborfalva departure had they not, at the same time, also been saying farewell to their former chief, chief of the Southern Army Group, Colonel General Burlakov. However, they are saying goodbye because Burlakov has been relieved of his present post and at the same time had been appointed chief of staff of the Western Army Group. I understand that already tomorrow he will be travelling to Germany.

His successor will be Lieutenant General Victor Shilov, who was greeted by Hungarian military leaders with undisguised pleasure here on Taborfalva, because they are hoping that they will be able to come to a better understanding with him about the disputed financial questions surrounding the Soviet troop withdrawal.

French Defense Minister Arrives for Visit

LD1712120890 Budapest MTI in English 1101 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—Jean-Pierre Chevenement, minister of defence of the Republic of France arrived in Budapest at the invitation of his Hungarian counterpart Lajos Fur on Monday [17 December].

The two ministers are to sign an agreement on the development of military ties on Tuesday [18 December].

Discusses Arms Sales

LD1712220490 Budapest MTV Television Network in Hungarian 1830 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] The French defense minister began an official visit today. The minister and his delegation were received a few minutes before 1100 by Defense Minister Lajos Fur, and the general staff of the Hungarian Army. Jean-Pierre Chevenement placed a wreath at Heroes' Square. Talks then began between the delegations, during which the negotiating sides coordinated their positions on developing a French-Hungarian defense cooperation structure. After the meeting, in an interview with this program, Chevenement said he views the agreement as being significant primarily due to the reciprocal training of officers and military units, to the organization of professional consultations, to the discussion opf scientific and research results, as well as due to the coordination of security policy issues. However, he added, military technology and arms cooperation is conceivable in the future. I asked the minister whether the Hungarian Army could purchase military technology from France. What does the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export controls list now allow? We see there to be no obstacle to this, he replied; the Hungarian side must decide what it wants and is able to purchase from us.

Comments on Hungarian Talks Issues

LD1712190590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Interview with French Defense Minister Jean-Pierre Chevenement by (Gyorgy Onodi) in Budapest; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [(Onodi)] Mr. Minister, please tell us what forms of cooperation were mentioned at your talks!

[Chevenement, in French fading into Hungarian translation] First we exchanged information on various military problems. Our talks were based on the agreement signed in Paris not long ago by participants in the Helsinki accord. We also talked of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary and French troops from Germany. We examined the circumstances under which all this has to be carried out. We expressed our hope that we are moving toward a balanced, peaceful Europe, where everyone can live in peace.

[(Onodi)] Mr. Minister, what do you think is the role of the French nuclear striking force after the changes in East Europe?

[Chevenement] As I mentioned before, we are working on achieving a balanced world. The Soviet Union has remained a great military power regarding both conventional and nuclear weapons. Our view is that we need a force that creates balance and the stability of security in Europe. Therefore the minimal nuclear striking force is needed, as this is a principle that has been accepted even by Mr. Gorbachev.

[(Onodi)] Finally Mr. Minister, what is your opinion on the possibility of a war after 15 January?

[Chevenement] War does not threaten in Europe, however, I believe your question was referring to the Persian Gulf. The situation is very dangerous there. In my view dialogue must be started between Iraq and the United States. Iraq should show flexibility to make way for real dialogue, which is definitely needed if we want a peaceful solution. This is in the interest of Iraq as well, because the war would destroy Iraq.

Antall Receives French Deputy Balladur

LD1712144390 Budapest MTI in English 1406 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 17 (MTI)—Hungarian Prime Minister Jozsef Antall received Edouard Balladur, deputy to the French National Assembly and an opposition economist, in his office on Monday [17 December].

During the meeting the two sides issues concerning the European Economic Community, NATO and European security.

Balladur, who was minister of finance in Jacques Chirac's government and supervised the privatization programme in France, attended the national rally of the Hungarian Democratic Forum and held talks with several government members.

Labor Minister on Restructuring, Unemployment

AU1712152190 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 11 Dec 90 p 5

[Interview with Labor Affairs Minister Sandor Gyorivanyi by Lorinc Szendrei; in a Budapest hospital, date not given: "Will the Labor Affairs Minister Become Unemployed?—We Must Extricate Ourselves From This Closed Track"—first paragraph is MAGYAR NEMZET introduction]

[Excerpts] This interview was made in an unusual way. By means of his secretary, Sandor Gyorivanyi himself initiated this interview. What does a minister currently in the Kutvolgy State Hospital say, a minister whose program and words are listened to by hundreds of thousands of people, including his family? What can one say from a hospital bed, complete with telephone and television and full of government documents and plans? How much information can get into this protected surroundings, information that, by virtue of the amount and the controversy, could often make even a healthy person feel sick?

[Szendrei] Your name has frequently been mentioned as one minister who will have to go, since the public is aware of the plan to reorganize the government. How has the Labor Affairs Ministry fallen short? What more should the public, press, and political criticism know about this predicted, or rather desired prime ministerial decision?

[Gyorivangyi] I do not question the need to reorganize our government. The reason for this reorganization is not only the fact that the budget debate has brought personnel and professional conflicts to the surface within the government, but also the fact that the serious economic situation clearly signalled by the latest taxi-drivers' blockade demands conclusions from our premier. The government coalition did not function properly; therefore, it was a correct step on the part of all the ministers to offer their resignation. In connection with the situation of the Labor Affairs Ministry, all I can say is that we have indeed shunned the broad publicity and avoided the media, and this is perhaps the reason our activity seemed more insignificant, but we did not sit and twiddle our thumbs, either.

[Szendrei] You mentioned professional conflicts. There is a program that allows a slower pace, and we also learned about a very radical program. Which program do you prefer?

[Gyorivanyi] I and my staff are motivated by two things. On the one hand, we must avoid a rapid increase in unemployment; at the same time, we must not delay the development of a market economy. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] A group of experts of [FRG Chancellor Helmut] Kohl visited Budapest recently. After the visit, one heard that, by spring next year, there will be towns in Hungary with 50 percent unemployment. What alternative do you have?

[Gyorivanyi] We have already succeeded in regrouping funds to areas that are in real danger, like, for example, the 500 million forints allocated to the uranium mines in Pecs. The budget also allocated 130 million forints to the Videoton Enterprises, and even more funds to the town of Miskolc. We also allocated funds for early retirement, retraining programs, and aiding people who are starting their careers.

[Szendrei] All these are budget expenses that will be radically cut next year. Thus, these examples are only suitable to improve the situation for the moment and make it bearable. However, a radical industrial restructuring envisages hundreds of thousands of unemployed.

[Gyorivanyi] I also heard a forecast of 500,000 unemployed. This is out of question! At most, 150,000 people will become unemployed next year, despite the aforementioned cut in the budget expenses. [passage omitted]

[Szendrei] We constantly say that we are waiting for foreign capital. However, among other things, the low level of professional training of the Hungarian workers keeps these funds out. When will the Hungarian workers be in demand?

[Gyorivanyi] I hope that they will be in demand as soon as possible. At present, we are studying various methods of modern employment. Everyone will need convertible and flexible professional knowledge because, in the future, one will not be able to spend a lifetime in a single profession. [passage omitted]

New Finance Minister Outlines Fiscal Policy

LD1712155590 Budapest MTI in English 1053 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Budapest, December 17, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—I cannot promise you a miraculous recovery, but I can promise a stable long-term economic policy, Mihaly Kupa, the prime minister's new choice for finance minister, said in his first public address since his appointment.

Mr Kupa said at a meeting of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce that he will make every effort to coordinate monetary, fiscal and external economic interests, because a strict monetary policy without an appropriate strategic market transformation will stifle the economy.

He criticised the continued strong presence of the state in the economy, and promised to outline his ideas for cutting that role in his state budget reform package next year.

He was quick to cool expectations of imminent tax cuts, but promised that the new package will be fair and will conform to the market.

Mr Kupa said that previous budget reform measures lacked a clear separation between the state and local government in terms of their authority and budgets, and he called for a clear definition of what constitutes state property and for a satisfactory settlement of the question of ownership and conditions of purchase of farmland, since without it, he added, privatisation cannot make genuine progress.

The new minister stressed that he would like to restore the Hungarian people's self-confidence as he is convinced that the country's chances of success are high, with most of the world keen to do business with Hungary.

Minister Notes 1990 Foreign Trade Surplus

LD1712132590 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] The minister of international economic relations held a press briefing today. Julia Torda reports:

[Torda] This year the Hungarian foreign trade surplus could be as much as $1 billion despite the fact that no significant growth can be expected in December, Bela Kadar, minister of international economic relations, announced at the press briefing, which was convened first and foremost for the benefit of foreign correspondents accredited in Hungary, and at which the minister evaluated foreign trade activity in the first 11 months of the year.

This portfolio is the front-runner today in the economic model change, added Bela Kadar, who mentioned above all that the portfolio has virtually completely dismantled the system of import permits. While last year the economic leadership made 59 percent of the dollar-accounted import depend on permits being granted, by next year this proportion will be only 10 percent. In other words, 90 percent of dollar import will be liberalized. In this connection, however, the minister also warned that this will make the competition conditions extraordinarily acute.

Regarding export, permits have to be requested today for no more than 30 percent of exports, when it is in the national interest to prevent the export of the given goods.

This year we conducted less than one-third of our total trade with the CEMA countries, and the drop in trade with the Central and East European states is a natural consequence of the region's economic crisis. It is well known that despite this, agreements on convertible-accounted trade have already been concluded with the Soviet, Polish and Czechoslovak sides. With Romania and Bulgaria, however, the differences of views are too great, and for the time being it cannot be known whether it will be at all possible to reduce the Hungarian surplus that has accumulated with these two countries.

At the same time, we have taken significant steps toward the West European countries, toward the EEC. The

preliminary talks aimed at achieving a partnership agreement have ended successfully and the official discussions will begin before the end of the year. Thus, in all probability, Hungary will be a partner member of the EEC in a year, on 1 January 1992.

Bank Chairman on Independence of Issuing Bank

AU1712140790 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Dec 90 p 6

[Interview with Chairman of the Hungarian National Bank Gyorgy Suranyi by Ilona Kocsi; place and date not given: "Independence Aspirations"—first paragraph is MAGYAR HIRLAP introduction]

[Excerpts] The law concerning Hungary's issuing bank is currently being drafted. Fierce battles are already raging behind the scenes, because the issue at stake is nothing less than the independence and new role of the Hungarian National Bank. Many people agree that the issuing bank should function independently. However, people do not seem to agree on the level of independence that should be granted to the bank. We interviewed Gyorgy Suranyi on this issue.

[Kocsi] Whom or what should the Hungarian National Bank belong to? Should it belong to parliament, to the government, or to some other body?

[Suranyi] Many people agree that we need a self-supporting issuing bank that is independent of the government. That way, we would have a better chance of avoiding the monetary policy mistakes that characterized the last few decades. The monetary sphere, the issuing bank, and the banking world have interests and values that are independent of political parties, and it would be worth making these interests and values truly independent, thus freeing them from current political oscillations. That way, we would enable the bank to play a balancing role alongside political forces and interest representation groups, in opposition to the current government, or together with the government. There has to be a balance between opposing forces. If we observe international practices, we notice that the countries that boasted the most efficient monetary policy in the past—I am thinking of Switzerland and the FRG—were the countries where the issuing banks enjoyed the greatest independence.

[Kocsi] Who controls the issuing banks of these two countries? Does parliament control the banks?

[Suranyi] No, it does not. The issuing banks of these two countries are not controlled by parliament, and they are independent of parliament. In this respect, as part of the country's economic power, the issuing bank represents an independent branch of power.

A Balancing Role

[Kocsi] In practice, this would mean that in Hungary, the Hungarian National Bank could represent a third branch of power, alongside the government and Parliament.

[Suranyi] No, it could never play such a role in politics; the above statement only applies to the economic sphere. Nevertheless, in Switzerland and the FRG, the issuing banks definitely represent a separate branch of power. Naturally, we also know that the issuing bank's independence is limited. Of course, the bank cannot enjoy complete autonomy, it cannot be entirely independent of the government or of the country's fiscal policy, nor can it escape the judgment of society. Nevertheless, it is essential that the issuing bank is not subordinate to any of these elements.

[Kocsi] In that case, who will restrict the issuing bank, and in what way? Who will supervise the activities of the bank, if it is granted this great independence?

[Suranyi] According to the proposal that has already been drafted, from a legal point of view, the issuing bank will come under the supervision of parliament. In a way, the State Audit Office supervises both us and the parliament. Thus, the real legal supervision that was lacking until now, will be put into place. At the same time, if the issuing bank were responsible for the protection of the purchasing power of our currency, both at home and abroad, then that would also constitute a guarantee and a form of supervision. Naturally, it is also clear that there cannot be complete independence. It would be particularly detrimental if the issuing bank followed a policy that was diametrically opposed to the economic policy advocated by the government. The issuing bank cannot do that. [passage omitted]

[Kocsi] The planned budget deficit for 1991 is much greater than our 1990 budget deficit. The issuing bank will have to finance a part of this deficit. That was the case in the past, and things will probably not change much in the future....

[Suranyi] I think that, in a way, 1991 and 1992 could be seen as extraordinary years with special circumstances. We certainly hope that we will not spend the next 40 years converting from ruble accounts to dollar accounts. Therefore, the country will not find itself making enormous losses from one minute to the next, losses that lie beyond its capabilities or sphere of competence. Under such chaotic circumstances, we cannot go completely by the book, as we would do in normal life. As experts, we also realize this. In concrete terms, as far as the 1991 deficit is concerned, figures are actually magnified a little bit because of a methodological change. According to our new system, the 1990 budget deficit totals 34 billion forints, not 10 billion forints. So, the basis for comparison is 34 billion forints, and the planned 78 billion forint budget deficit for 1991 has to be compared to the 34 billion forint deficit of 1990. Therefore, our budget deficit will approximately double from 1990 to 1991. However, figures have to be rectified a little bit because

of high inflation rates. Indeed, inflation does not only inflate prices and salaries, it also increases budget expenditures. Thus, if we recalculate our current 34 billion forint deficit by taking inflation rates into account—some 30-32 percent—then our budget deficit for 1990 grows to almost 50 billion forints. So, from the point of view of the tolerating capacity of our economy, Hungary's budget deficit will actually increase from about 50 billion forints in 1990, to 70-80 billion forints in 1991. Naturally, that is still a lot. [passage omitted]

Goncz Pays Homage to 1956 Revolutionaries

LD1612173790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1700 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Arpad Goncz laid flowers at Plot 301 in the Rakoskeresztur Cemetery, desecrated in the past days, but which has now been restored to order.

The president of the republic paid homage to the graves of the heroes of 1956 revolution in the company of the leaders of the Committee for Historical Justice.

Supreme Court Rejects Election Protests

LD1812094790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 0600 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] The Supreme Court has not accepted any of the 51 election protests. The way is open to swear Lech Walesa in as president. Today the Supreme Court will deliver a report addressed to the National Assembly Sejm speaker recommending that the validity of the presidential elections be accepted. Following the receipt of the Supreme Court's opinion the Sejm speaker will convene the National Assembly. It is virtually certain that on Friday a commission will be appointed to examine the protests and take a stance on the Supreme Court's opinion. The president will be sworn in on Saturday at 1000 [0900 GMT].

Further on Rejection

LD1712133790 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Stanislaw Tyminski's protest regarding the presidential elections has been left without further action by the Supreme Court today. Since the protest was submitted after the deadline set by the electoral law, it was not examined on the merits of the case. The Supreme Court acknowledged that the law on the election of the president allowed for protests to be submitted at Polish diplomatic bases abroad only by people voting abroad. Stanislaw Tyminski, however, had voted in Poland, yet he submitted his protest at the consulate in Toronto.

Army Daily Hails Walesa Statements on Military

AU1712114390 Warsaw POLSKA ZBROJNA in Polish 11 Dec 90 p 1

["(P.Z.)"-signed commentary: "Loyalty in Serving the Republic"]

[Text] The presidential elections—the first genuinely democratic elections in a truly sovereign country—were a great and instructive experience. They turned out to be a difficult attempt at civil democracy. Following the first round, it may have appeared that our nascent democracy had fallen into the trap of immaturity. We surprised ourselves.

The second round was, however, not only a victory for a particular candidate, but also for a political tendency and the national ethos associated with the name of Lech Walesa and "Solidarity." The preferences that the electorate expressed on 9 December dispel all doubt about that.

For voters in the military—both career troops and conscripts—the elections were even more of a special experience. For the first time, the military took part in the elections as a state structure and professional community that is not involved in political and personality disputes and is free from ideological obligations to defend "nothing but valid arguments."

This time, there was no one telling troops how to vote at their bases, there were no instructions given at meetings, no one checked whether election recommendations had been followed. In keeping with the principle of political neutrality, the Army was not one of the sides in the elections.

There was no election campaigning at military sites and no military electoral districts were created.

At the same time, steps were taken to ensure that while observing the provisions of the military code, performing their duty, and satisfying the requirements of combat readiness, career troops and conscripts could exercise their right to vote. Orders were given to create legal and organizational opportunities to take part in the elections on the basis of one's free, personal decision.

The military's institutional neutrality in the presidential campaign did not signify an attitude of indifference toward the election of the head of state on the part of members of the military. Who the president is, the program and attitudes of the president as head of the Armed Forces and the highest commanding officer cannot be a matter of indifference for the soldier.

This was reflected in the columns of POLSKA ZBROJNA. We sought to present all candidates in an objective manner and set out their views on the defense of the state, the functioning of the Armed Forces, the direction in which change should proceed, and a future model of the military. Readers followed this presentation with interest. This was borne out by what we were told following the first round of the elections. Here are a few examples:

"I see the president being someone who will unite the Polish nation and its economic and political strengths around defense and will not use the Army for any purpose other than that of defending the state's and nation's independence."

"The Army cannot be a testing ground for political forces—it belongs to the entire nation. The president will be acting on behalf of the nation as commander in chief of the Army."

During his first news conference after the elections, the president-elect said that in light of the current instability of European geopolitical structures, Poland needs a modern, strong military that is capable of defending the sovereignty of the state. The understanding that Lech Walesa expressed for defense needs and the importance of a strong army immediately after the elections was, as the view of the commander in chief of the Armed Forces, undoubtedly received very well by the military.

For the military, it is a question of duty and honor to display the highest respect for the person who is the president of the Republic of Poland, the head of state, and that is also true of loyalty in serving the state and nation. On several occasions, in the statements that he made following the elections, President-elect Lech

Walesa said that his concept of the presidency was one of service. This is something that he and the Polish Army have in common in thinking about the future of republic.

ROAD Party Officially Registered

LD1712170890 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1300 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Excerpt] The voivodship court in Warsaw has entered the Citizens Movement "Democratic Action" [ROAD], with its headquarters in Warsaw, into the records of political parties. [passage omitted]

Emergence of Democratic Union Analyzed

PM1812101190 Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 8-9 Dec 90 pp 1-2

[Andrzej Romanowski article: "Mazowiecki and His Union"]

[Text] On 2 December a new political party, the Democratic Union, joined the Polish political scene. Its decisionmaking faculty, the Council, numbers about 100 members, and it is almost certain that it will eventually have to be reorganized according to a new formula. The federal nature of the Union is not quite clear, either: It consists of two groups, the Citizens Movement for "Democratic Action" [ROAD] (which was founded in July) and the Democratic Right Forum [FPD] (founded in June). In addition—and this is the most significant new development—the Union's composition includes also the Tadeusz Mazowiecki Election Committees Movement which, though not contained in any definite organizational forms, is numerically much larger than ROAD or the FPD. With so many unknown factors present, one thing is certain and obvious: Mazowiecki's personal leadership of the party. And here we have a new Polish paradox: No sooner was the prime minister defeated on the crushing evidence of the voting card than he gained a very large camp of political followers—of the kind that was unsuccessfully sought for the whole 15 months of his post as prime minister....

The ideological pedigree of the Democratic Union is quite complex. The circles grouped around Mazowiecki and Stanislaw Stomma had their origin in the "Znak" ["The Sign"] Parliamentary Deputies Club—the only legally operating opposition group in the communist bloc prior to 1980. Activists of Adam Michnik's or Jan Litynski's stature emerged from the March 1967 student revolt and from the practical experience of the political group which was to become Solidarity's forerunner: the Workers Defense Committee.

The ideological pedigree of the FPD goes back to the Young Poland Movement and the group centered today around the POLITYKA POLSKA [Polish Politics] publication. As we know, at one time these groups constituted, as it were, the very core of Solidarity. Today, ROAD leaders (Bujak and Frasyniuk), together with the FPD's Aleksander Hall and, of course, Mazowiecki himself, have attained the status of national symbols.

Consequently, the Democratic Union will undoubtedly refer to Solidarity's traditional spirit, program, and ethos. With all its internal diversification, the Solidarity program contained several fundamental common tenets. The first and most obvious of these was its antitotalitarian stance, expressed through determined protest against the imposed dictatorship regime. The second tenet was the high regard for the democratic order and the principle of struggle without violence. The third was the firm belief in the need to ensure that all its actions bear the hallmark of moral legitimacy, this being an answer to the rampant lawlessness of the communist state. The fourth of the Solidarity tenets was its open character. For example, the dialogue with nonbelievers which has been traditionally conducted in the columns of TYGODNIK POWSZECHNY, ZNAK, and WIEZ coincided in the late seventies with the ideological direction of the "secular left," which at that time began to open up to appreciation of Christian values. Finally, the fifth basic Solidarity tenet was rejection of political "fireworks" in favor of hard work dedicated to realization of difficult but fully realistic objectives. Based as it was on the above tenets, the democratic opposition camp in Poland has always been as much principled as pragmatic, which enabled it to work out its own formula for a political consensus. While accepting the principle of internal pluralism and gathering together people of differing convictions, it nevertheless formed its own ethos, based in an obvious way on Christian values.

As we know, it was precisely this camp—which was at the time united around Lech Walesa—that, during the memorable summer of 1989, called into being the first noncommunist government in East Europe which, in turn, started a chain reaction in the countries of "real socialism." It is not worth initiating a discussion here on the various mechanisms launched at the time to divide and weaken the great movement, check its impetus, and arrest its progress at the halfway point. It is enough to say that, despite the fact that it has been possible to set Solidarity as a trade union against Solidarity as a sociopolitical reform movement, and also despite the fact that last spring the Center Alliance group split away from the previously uniform camp, the majority of the remaining milieus effectively closed ranks in an effort to strengthen the position of the beleaguered government. Thus, in response to the setting up of the Center Alliance, the Krakow-based Alliance for Democracy movement was formed. In its turn, this led to the emergence of the FPD and ROAD groups within the Alliance for Democracy formation. Finally, in reaction to the presidential "acceleration" program, the circles grouped around the new alliance dissociated themselves from Lech Walesa (who had earlier declared himself—unilaterally—in favor of the Center Alliance) and proposed their own presidential candidate, Tadeusz Mazowiecki. Thus, the emergence of the Democratic Union was the final stage of the process which had been unfolding for more than six months.

What place will this new party command in the political landscape of the future Poland? To say that it will be an opposition party is to state the obvious. Regardless of who wins the second round of the presidential election, the logic of the political timetable has already been upset, and new destablization processes threatening the reform process and the very institutional order of the regained statehood have been set in motion. Unfortunately, there is nothing to indicate that these processes will be stemmed one way or another. The present situation is similar to the fate that befell the idea out of which Solidarity was originally born: Once it became embroiled in the "treadmill" of extemporaneous political interests, it lost its immediate relevance to the social concerns that provided its original raison d'etre, and suffered a virtual "whittling away" of programs which until then were rather distant from its concerns. Thus, the former democratic opposition found itself losing control over the situation and concluded that it could no longer accept responsibility for the future development of the country and the realization of the past promises which had in the meantime become impossible to fulfill. Consequently, according to the logic of democracy, it must now relinquish its place to the new forces. In most cases, the latter also trace their origins to Solidarity, though they are mostly the product of its trade union side.

The relinquishment of its position, however, does not mean that the Democratic Union will respond to the critical attacks from the Center Alliance by deploying the tactic of futile demagoguery. After all, you could take the jaundiced view and point out that they will soon be able to strike back themselves and denounce all the inevitable weaknesses of the new government-to-be: in the domestic, agricultural, housing, defense, foreign, and many other policies.... For everyone knows that there is no chance of a miracle occurring. Fortunately, the Democratic Union does not set itself the goal of coming back to power at all costs, and consequently we can be sure that any new solutions suggested by the future government that can serve the country well can count on its support and approval. We saw a typical example of this attitude and way of thinking on 2 December: The very first political appeal put out by the Democratic Union was the call to vote for its chief rival, Walesa....

The new party is being formed in a tense and uneasy situation, but it is also being formed in an atmosphere of profound psychological trauma, which was caused by a considerable proportion of our public realizing suddenly the dangerous corner to which the calls for "acceleration" and "war at the top" have led them. The standing ovation that greeted Tadeusz Mazowiecki in the crowded Auditorium Maximum Hall on 2 December brought it home to the assembled audience what a priceless value he represented: an unswerving and determined attachment to the professed principles. Consequently, we are surely justified in assuming that the principal objective of the newly formed Democratic Union will be precisely this: to restore the principles from which Polish democratic opposition once grew and developed. I would not be surprised if, at some time in the not-too-distant future, this very party were to become the focal point of public support—a kind of a new Solidarity for the new era.

Jaruzelski Termed 'Co-Author of Democratic Change'

AU1812122390 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 13 Dec 90 p 1

[Tomasz Wolek commentary: "13 December—Departing"]

[Text] Wojciech Jaruzelski's period of serving the state has drawn to a close. It will become the subject of much research and analysis. History will issue the final verdict. Even if it is a severe one, it has to be a just one above all. For that to happen, history has to be aided. That is why I hope that the outgoing president, despite his earlier statements, will not take all his secrets "to the grave." These secrets have had too great an impact on the collective fate of Poland to remain anyone's personal property. It is to be presumed that Wojciech Jaruzelski will satisfy the dictates of fairness and historical truth and will conscientiously account for the past. This particularly applies to all the circumstances connected with the introduction of martial law, the ninth anniversary of which falls today, 13 December. It is not possible to delay a final explanation of matters relating to the contemporary history of Poland; key matters that have until now been shrouded in allusions and insinuations. Of the many questions that are on people's lips and troubling our minds, there is one in particular that requires a clear and unambiguous answer; was martial law the only possible price for avoiding a Soviet intervention? The answer to this question will determine the answers to all the remaining ones. It also applies to all the costs—the human, ethical, social, and political—of that operation.

Without settling this issue, it is not possible to conduct a full assessment of the past decade and Wojciech Jaruzelski's public activity. Regardless of how one assesses that activity, there is no doubt that the past few years have attested to his political imagination. He managed to rise above the limitations that were characteristic of the activists belonging to the formation that he represented. He managed to go beyond ideological dogmas and accurately perceive the true order of supreme values: the aspirations of the nation and the long-term interests of the state. He met the challenges of the time and as result became a co-author of democratic change. No right-minded person can question his influence on the course of these historical processes.

For years—as a member of the opposition and during martial law—surely like everybody else in "Solidarity," I considered General Jaruzelski a political opponent. Besides, it had to be that way. For this reason, the dignified manner in which President Jaruzelski resigned his office is to be admired and welcomed all the more. The use of the words "I am sorry" publicly does sound as if it has been used casually in the slightest: Until now no

outgoing politician could countenance saying that. What also merits respect is the readiness to assume responsibility for the past. There is no attempt to evade responsibility or to impute a share of it to anyone else. On the contrary, he has taken the full burden of that responsibility onto his own shoulders and his alone. It is a dignified and courageous attitude.

History will provide the rest. There is no doubt about that now. This chapter must also been finally closed now.

Extent of 'Hidden Unemployment' Assessed

PM1812095990 Katowice TRYBUNA SLASKA in Polish 8-9 Dec 90 p 1

[INTERPRESS article: "Hidden Unemployment"]

[Text] If, when discussing unemployment, we absolutely insist on going by the figures and indices, then we must quote also regional figures and indices in addition to those citing the total nationwide unemployment statistics, since the latter, in effect, fail to give us a comprehensive picture. It is only when we consider the unemployment figures for individual regions that we can truly perceive the vast scale of the phenomenon and the extent of human suffering caused by it.

For example, as early as last September five regional labor markets in northeast Poland were already registering a virtually pathological level of unemployment, exceeding 11 percent. As the production profile of the regions in questions is typically agricultural, the only solution for the local unemployed is to find work outside agriculture. The only question is: Where are they to find it?

On the face of it, it would appear that the situation in the southern and eastern voivodships is diametrically different. There, the official unemployment index is surprisingly low. Unfortunately, this is simply the result of the failure to register correctly as unemployed all the farmer-workers who are being laid off from their jobs in industry. They go back to their family farms, but these usually already have to support such a large number of people that it is impossible to make a living there. In this way a whole new social group has been created, consisting of people who have no entitlement to unemployment benefit on the one hand and no means of support on the other.

This is still not everything that can be said about the so-called hidden unemployment in the agricultural sector. According to reports prepared by the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Economy, ideally there should be about 12 people working on every 100 hectares of arable land. The actual number is, in fact, twice as large. Consequently, we must estimate that hidden unemployment in the individual farming sector reaches 40 percent—that is, as many as 1,200,000 people. The situation is, in any case, very similar in the socialized agricultural sector. There, hidden unemployment affects about 15 percent of agricultural employees, that is, 80,000 people. These are predominantly employed in the excessively overblown administrative section, investment project services section, in maintenance and repairs, and so on. Sooner or later, they, too, will have to be laid off.

Things are not any better in industry, either. The decrease in output sales in the first half of this year amounted to 27.5 percent, while employment fell by only seven percent. This means that the value of output sold per employee fell by 22 percent. If we compare these figures with the value of output sold per employee in 1989, we will find that, given the current production and sales figures, hidden unemployment affects 800,000 people. As a result, regional labor exchanges estimate that the highest level of layoffs in industry will occur in all those voivodships that show the most unfavorable ratios between production and employment figures.

Mazowiecki Receives U.S. Ambassador Simons

LD1712170790 Warsaw PAP in English 1514 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 17—Prime Minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki today received ambassador of the United States of America to Poland Thomas Simons who conveyed a letter from President George Bush to the Polish prime minister.

Also today, Tadeusz Mazowiecki received representatives of the Council of the National Consumers' Federation led by its chairwoman Malgorzata Niepokulczycka. The prime minister received memorial of the 4th national congress of this organization on the state consumer-oriented policy.

Preparations for Soviet Troop Transit Noted

AU1812111390 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 12 Dec 90 p 7

[Dariusz Fedor report: "A Great but Expensive Retreat?"]

[Text] About 370,000 Soviet troops (if one includes families and civilian staff, the number is closer to 900,000), presently stationed in Germany will leave during the next four years. The almost 50,000-strong Soviet Army group stationed in Poland is scheduled to leave for the USSR before the end of 1991. The height of the transiting troop traffic—controlled throughout the length of the route by the Polish Army and other services—will occur in the years 1991 and 1992.

Poland wants the bulk of the troops and equipment that is to be withdrawn from the former GDR, to go by a sea route. According to the Polish Government, the rest could be transited through Poland by rail and only in exceptional cases should road convoys be used.

The transport of dangerous materials (this means chemical, bacteriological, and toxic weapons that have been stockpiled in the former GDR) will not be allowed and no nuclear weapons will be transported through Polish

airspace, or by Polish rail or road, stated Grzegorz Kostrzewa-Zorbas, deputy director of the European Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

During the coming four years it is anticipated that 11,000 trains will transit Poland (eight trains every 24 hour period, because of the limited reloading capability of the Soviet side.) The Soviet Union will pay Poland about $16,000 for each train. Four rail transit routes have been set out:

—Szczecin, Szczecinek, Malbork, and Braniewo;
—Kostrzyn, Pila, Bydgoszcz, Torun, Olsztyn, and Korsze;
—Kunowice, Poznan, Kutno, Skierniewice, Pilawa, Lukow, Siedlce, and Czeremcha;
—Tuplice, Glogow, Ostrow Wielkopolski, Tomaszow Mazowiecki, Deblin, Lublin, and Dorohusk.

The Polish side is insisting that the troops (several hundred in each train), should not carry weapons. These will be transported in sealed trains along with other military equipment. The trains will be totally "self sufficient" and it is not envisaged that they will need to stop on route. In the event of a breakdown, Polish Army units from local garrisons will provide the necessary security.

Before entering Poland, the trains will be inspected by Polish Army units, customs and environmental protection officers and sealed for the journey through Poland. The first check will be made in Germany before the troops entrain and it is possible that Polish Army units may also be present at this inspection.

Polish State Railways are capable of transporting foreign troops. Many rail routes are suitable for the transport of heavy military equipment and currently the railway has spare capacity, because freight traffic has fallen by 40 percent. It is expected that bottlenecks will occur at the Polish eastern border, where the transit trains will either have to be adapted to the larger Soviet rail track or the men and equipment reloaded into Soviet trains.

Road traffic—using the 450 km route from Kolbaskowo, Szczecin, Rawsko Pomorskie, Malbork, Elblag, to Braniewo—will also be inspected and sealed. It will transport weapons and heavy military equipment. Probably about 3,000 road convoys will be needed, but for the time being it is not known how many vehicles each convoy will have. The Polish side has suggested 200 vehicles, whereas the Soviet side wants 350. Poland will also earn money from this road traffic. The Soviet Union will probably pay $1 billion towards adapting the roads and about $280 per vehicle. Every road convoy will be piloted by Polish Army units (vehicles at the front and rear). All crossroads will be manned. In the towns, the police will be responsible for ensuring traffic flow. The Army will oversee the operation over the whole route. Transit time will be about 24 hours (average speed 20 km per hour), and rest points will be organized. There will probably be two—one at the Soviet airfield in Sulinow (near Szczecinek), and the other on a military base near Stargard Szczecinski or Malbork. Security at all the stops will be ensured by Polish Army units.

The road convoys are also intended to be "self-sufficient" and will not need to refuel in Poland. They will have their own food, medical provisions, and technical backup. Initial tests of load bearing capability of road surfaces, viaducts, and bridges are already being made and traffic volumes along the proposed routes calculated. The bottlenecks will be at the Kolbaskowo border crossing and around the towns in the Szczecin, Koszalin, and Pila Voivodships, because of the lack of town bypasses.

The Soviet Union will transport all dangerous materials by sea, but convoys will have to sail outside Polish territorial waters and be escorted by Polish environment protection officers to see that Soviet Army does not dump rubbish and other things into Polish waters. If Soviet ships have to sail through Polish fishing areas Polish pilots should also be on board. No payment is anticipated for sea transit, unless the Soviet Union charters Polish ships.

No agreement on the number of flights or payloads to overfly Polish airspace has been reached. It is certain that flights will conform to international agreements and that the Soviet Union will have to pay for using Polish airspace. Poland is insisting that all transit costs should be borne by the Soviet Union and Germany. This was discussed by Mazowiecki and Kohl at their meeting in Slubice and Frankfurt-am-Oder. All costs incurred must be paid for. Otherwise, for example, we shall be forced to halt all traffic, stated Grzegorz Kostrzewa-Zorbas.

Parliament Joint Session on Revolution Anniversary

AU1412092390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2208 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—Thursday afternoon, 13 December, the two chambers of the Romanian Parliament held a joint session at the Parliament Palace in Bucharest, where Deputy for Brasov Constituency Emil Stoica read the Romanian Parliament's proclamation on the first anniversary of the December 1989 revolution.

Taking the floor, Deputy Ion Diaconescu, representing the parliamentary group of the Christian-Democratic National Peasant Party, expressed his reserve on adopting a proclamation and saying his group would abstain from voting.

Further came to the stand Deputies Cazimir Ionescu, Ionel Roman, Stefan Cazimir, Adrian Filca, Constantin Topliceanu, Silviu Somicu, Dumitru Maresi, Mihai Mancas and Senator Sergiu Nicolaescu who backed both the timeliness of such a proclamation and the draft submitted.

After due amendments suggested during the debates, the proclamation was adopted by the parliament with a majority of votes and only six abstentions.

Senate President on Anniversary

AU1712200990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1842 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—Monday afternoon the capital city hosted the solemn session of Romania's Parliament devoted to the commemoration of one year since the beginning of the December 1989 revolution in Timisoara.

Opening the session of the Parliament's two chambers, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, emphasised that the country's history recorded for ever the courage and dignity of the Timisoara inhabitants who, joined by the armed forces, stood up to fight against and defeated one of the most oppressive systems ever known.

Now, at one year since the beginning of the revolution, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu continued, we have the possibility to see the radical changes in the Romanian society. The year that passed has not been easy. We have not been exempt from mistakes, but we have followed with constancy the path opened by the revolution. To advance always on this path we should prove wisdom, reject extremism and violence, not allow to waste the revolution's ideals. Only so, the speaker concluded, we shall join democratic countries.

At Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu's proposal, the participants in the solemn session observed a moment's silence to the memory of those dead for the victory of the December 1989 revolution.

The floor was further taken by senators and deputies who paid homage to the revolution heroes.

The proceedings of the solemn session continue.

Senate Examines Bills

AU1712201090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1826 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—The Senate met on Monday 17 December in a short plenary session on the agenda of which were several reports on a number of bills worked out by the commissions of mediation between the two chambers of the Parliament.

Among them is that on honouring the memory of the martyr heroes and granting rights to their descendants and to those wounded during the December 1989 revolution.

The chairman of the session, Mr. Vasile Mois, announced that today the two chambers would meet in a solemn session in the afternoon to commemorate one year since the beginning of the revolution in Romania.

Deputies Assembly Session

AU1712210390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1953 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—The session of the Assembly of Deputies was resumed on Monday afternoon in the presence of 300 members of that legislative forum.

The agenda of this week was adopted during the first part of the session including debates on the reports of the mediation commissions on the settlement of divergencies in connection with the bill on the organization and operation of the Ministry of the Interior, the bill on the organization and operation of the Ministry of National Defence, the bill on honouring the martyr heroes and granting rights to their descendants and to those wounded during the December 1989 revolution, the bill on profit tax, the bill on the settlement of collective labour conflicts. The bill on the setting up of the Romanian Institute for Human Rights, the land bill and the bill on the organization and operation of ministries are to be debated.

More on Session

AU1812100590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2251 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 17/12/1990—Monday afternoon the capital city hosted the solemn session of Romania's Parliament devoted to the commemoration of one year since the beginning of the December 1989 revolution in Timisoara.

Opening the session of the parliament's two chambers, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu, president of the Senate, emphasised that the country's history recorded for ever

the courage and dignity of the Timisoara inhabitants who, joined by the Armed Forces, stood up to fight against and defeated one of the most oppressive systems ever known.

Now, at one year since the beginning of the revolution, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu continued, we have the possibility to see the radical changes in the Romanian society. The year that passed has not been easy. We have not been exempt from mistakes, but we have followed with constancy the path opened by the revolution. To advance always on this path we should prove wisdom, reject extremism and violence, not allow to waste the revolution's ideals. Only so, the speaker concluded, we shall join democratic countries.

At Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu's proposal, the participants in the solemn session observed a moment's silence to the memory of those dead for the victory of the December 1989 revolution.

The first part of the solemn session was devoted to paying homage to the revolution heroes, to evoking the role of Timisoara city in starting the events in December 1989.

The senators and deputies taking the floor showed that the events in Timisoara last winter would remain forever in the Romanian people's chronicle. They highly appreciated Timisoara inhabitants' fight for freedom, making also reference to the self-sacrifice of the whole Romanian people, of the Armed Forces who adhered, body and soul, to the revolutionary ideas, ensuring thus its complete victory.

The second part of the session approached issues connected with the events having taken place in Timisoara Sunday evening. In that framework the great majority of the speakers showed that people who had nothing in common with the ideals dear to the entire Romanian people turned the opportunity to remember the victims, the moment to express the gratitude for those having started the revolution into a real rostrum where the watchword was hate, intolerance, blasphemy, violence. The speakers, among whom Messrs. Gheorghe Dumitrascu, Marian Enache, Ion Neagu, Dumitru Pislaru, Dumitru Braneanu, Stefan Cazimir, Radu Ceontea, Ionel Ardeleanu and other parliamentarians showed that denying the Romanian realities, disputing the election results, urges to the country's destabilisation through the slogans and calls launched during the events in Timisoara were an attempt on the people's free option expressed on May 20, 1990. It was appreciated that obscure forces tried to mislead certain categories of the population by denying the last months' real achievements both in the society's democratisation and in the setting up of the legal framework necessary for a good functioning of the market economy, in the revival of the economy, in the operation of the statal fundamental institutions. There were also criticised certain actions of the opposition. In that context, Mr. Radu Campeanu stated that the point of view having been expressed during the Timisoara events by a leader of his party did not express the stand and spirit of the policy of the National Liberal Party which understood to settle the situation by themselves.

At the end of the solemn session approach was made of certain issues concerning the political and social situation in Bessarabia, the senators and deputies expressing their satisfaction over the resolution of the Grand National Assembly in Kishinev to proclaim the independence of the Moldovan Republic.

Civic Alliance Members Address Timisoara Rally

AU1712114090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1021 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—Addresses at the rally in the Timisoara Revolution Square on Sunday [16 December] were also made by Iosif Costinas, leader of the Timis Civic Alliance, who demanded among other things that the day of December 16 should become a holiday for Timisoara residents, and George Serban, who read out the Charter of the Civic Alliance endorsed a few days ago in Bucharest.

Homage was expressed to the December 1989 revolution heroes and to the whole Timisoara population, as well as severe criticism for the current state of affairs in the country also by Doina Cornea, Ana Blandiana, Smaranda Enache, Mircea Sevaciuc, Sergiu Cunescu, Romulus Rusan, Doru Braia, Teodor Stetca, Cornel Nistorescu, Reserve Lieutenant-Colonel Constantin Grecu, and others.

Threats at Timisoara Commemoration Criticized

AU1812100690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2259 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 17/12/1990—By a decision of the Timis County Prefecture, December 17 was declared a mourning day in Timisoara and throughout Timis County. On this day all state institutions and all enterprises raised the national flag at half-mast. The programmes of the local radio and television stations as well as those of the institutions were modified accordingly. The events commemorating one year since the December 1989 revolution began at ten a.m. with religious services and wreaths-laying ceremonies at the places where the martyrs died, and will end with a vigil in the Revolution Square.

Large-scale demonstrations commemorating one year since the December revolution actually began on Sunday in the martyr town of Timisoara, attended by thousands of people and watched by millions on the TV.

The demonstrators were addressed by many people, leaders of local political and apolitical formations, students and teaching staff of Timisoara, representatives of a number of parties, alliances and fora, who paid homage to the Timisoara heroes who sacrificed themselves in the fight against communism and totalitarianism in

Romania, and to the whole population of Timisoara. The speakers took the opportunity to make an evaluation of the country's situation and criticize firmly the leaders of the country, the government, the parliament, other state institutions, and ask insistently for the resignation of the president and the government. The idea of calling early elections and of forming a new government of national unity was launched, and calls for a general strike were made.

Those who watched the Sunday demonstrations in Timisoara on TV could see that sometimes the speakers left aside the initial purpose of the meeting, that of honoring those who sacrificed themselves in December, of paying homage to their contribution on the altar of the Romanian democracy. The criticisms addressed to the country's democratic institutions were more than once made in a violent and careless language, rarely heard in public addresses. In a state of law nobody has the right to suppress the free expression of opinions, no matter how unmerciful, in connection with existing states of affairs or public persons. But it is a long way from here to promoting and recycling expressions and associations on the verge of ignoring decency. Threats of all sorts, a sometimes sickly, offensive imagery, unbridled passions, invective qualifications, personal attacks this is what a number of speakers insisted on mixing with eulogies of the Timisoara victims, whom we owe among other things the very possibility of saying today what we think.

All that is left is the regret to see the easiness with which people forget that a kiss might so easily kill a tear.

Prosecutor General To 'Accept No Interference'

AU1412175190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1353 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 14/12/1990—Mr. Mihail Ulpiu Popa Cherecheanu, the new prosecutor general of Romania, underlined in a televised interview Thursday evening that it was necessary to accurately define the role and importance of the prosecution in the Romanian state of law. He mentioned in that respect the application of law, the establishment of truth and the defence of the citizen.

After making a brief report on delinquency after the revolution, Mr. Popa Cherecheanu characterized the number of offences committed as "explosive," being in fact twice or even three times higher. Making a few considerations about the trials of "the great culprits" of the December 1989 events, he declared himself against the recurrence of past abuse in the penal investigation apparatus. Under the circumstances he expressed his opinion that "it is but natural for the prosecution to belong in the judiciary and accept no interference with its own activity."

In another interview with daily "ADEVARUL," Mr. Popa Cherecheanu opined that in no other country had the prosecution been faced with such situations as Romania's prosecution had been called to solve this year.

Paler: National Day Dishonored Through Hatred

AU1312125390 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 5 Dec 90 pp 1,5

[Octavian Paler article: "The Rest Is Hope"]

[Text] We have been deprived of a dignified celebration of our national holiday. Through the way in which they organized the first postrevolution anniversary of the unification in Alba Iulia, those in power were able to turn a day of ours, of all of us, into their day, thus offering an electoral spectacle instead of an inspiring celebration—and what a spectacle! With whistles and boos. There is someone who stubbornly tries to turn everything he touches to discord like the legendary Midas turned everything he touched to gold. Needless to say, there is the kind of abuse no power should be permitted to commit. Even at a time when we should be entitled to forget the tragedy of being more torn up—one year after the revolution—than ever before, we still have reason for bitterness, as I can see. Some people even claim that Messrs. Iliescu and Roman were amusing themselves when the speakers, on behalf of the opposition, were booed and hampered to speak; moreover, a few times Mr. Roman was noted stimulating the commotion with signs. I do not want to go that far. There is no doubt that such an attitude is shameful. Tight groups of individuals—brought by whom? (surely not by the people who were booed)—rallied to Alba Iulia not to celebrate the memory of the forger of unification, but to dishonor the nobility of that day through hatred and triviality. The images captured by the television cameras are clear. Explanations cannot touch up what a whole country has seen.

Once again, we were doomed to feel like we are living in an upside down world. At least at this point, our rulers should have taken a step backward to prove to us that they respect our celebrated traditions. Instead, the parties whose names are linked to the unification were put in the second-rate position and hardly tolerated guests after they had been brutally reminded that there is nothing sacred when it comes to the interests of those in power in closing the door to any alternative governing. With their popularity rapidly declining, those in power give the impression that they cling to anything that helps them relive—even for just a few hours—the rosy dream of 20 May no matter the price. How can we refrain from thinking of the dangers involved? How can we refrain from feeling a pang when this is happening on our very national day?

Afterward we were watching a war of accusations on television during which those, who should have made excuses rather than accusations, did not hesitate to come up with accusations. Is there anyone who believes that things were thusly clarified and that these contradictory

communiques were another milestone for national reconciliation? I guess no one does so. The only way to clarify what happened to a certain extent would have been by interviewing on television some of the most riotous agitators to find out why they had come to Alba Iulia and, perhaps, upon whose initiative. However, television went out of its way to guard itself against this initiative. It did not even give us a glimpse behind the scenes as it did during its reports on the University Square events. Anyhow, we have come out even more traumatized from an anniversary that should have been an opportunity for pious remembrance, recognition for the patriotism of our forebearers, and for reflection about our limited size. The decay of the present does not only reflect on the future, but also on the past amidst the fireworks of certain celebrations—which were not spared either—and an inflation of big words more and more alien to our disorientation and desperation. What else is in store for us? It seems to me that we are living a double life—as we did before the revolution. One, in which the most vulgar poverty is assaulting us from all sides under the eyes of an administration delivering lectures on liberalization and not realizing that the price minuet will probably have a single effect: To make the state and its enterprises profitable at our expense thus covering up the persevering poor work performance. Another life of endless celebrations at which the instigators of violence launch appeals against violence. One life of "systematized" hatred (if in past years Ceausescu was systematizing villages, those in power are today systematizing hatred and feuds by applying—with somber consistency—Machiavelli's principles: divide and conquer); another life of more and more empty words about reconciliation and democratic dialogue. When will we emerge from this long, too long schizophrenia for which, undoubtedly, we are to be blamed as well, because the slogan "we are working, not thinking" was not chanted in the Russian language. It also seems that we are deprived of luck. Anyhow, the only solution for us is no longer to tolerate lies and fear—the pylons that upheld the exhausting nightmare, which is trying by various means to reestablish itself. The rest is hope.

Senate Session on Interior, Defense Ministries

AU1312085690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2347 GMT 12 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 12/12/1990—Wednesday, 12 December, the Romanian Senate adopted the Law on the Organisation and Functioning of the Ministry of the Interior.

Article 20 of Chapter IV dealing with the prerogatives of the Ministry of the Interior [M.I.], stipulates: "In case of aggressive actions by persons that cannot be stopped or neutralised through other legal means, the M.I. corps are authorised to use rubber batons, static electricity batons, tear and other irritating gas devices, water jets, rubber-bullet weapons, as well as other means of retention and protection that do not endanger life or cause serious body injuries.

Such means as stipulated in the paragraph above shall be used against perpetrators of aggressive acts gradually, after due and repeated warning that such means are likely to be used and after an appropriate lapse of time given for aggressive actions to cease and for the affected area to be cleared.

Opposition senators either voted against or abstained.

The Commission for the Defence and Keeping of Public Order, having been duly notified and having the approval of the Senate's Legal Commission for Appointments, Discipline and Immunities, has submitted for approval today the Draft Law of the Structure and Functioning of the Ministry of National Defence. The draft has already been passed by the Assembly of Deputies.

As the law reads, the Ministry of National Defence is the central body of the executive which conducts and coordinates defence activities with the purpose of ensuring Romania's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, as well as constitutional order.

At the same time, the Ministry of Defence ensures, in its activities, the enforcement of laws, decrees, of the government's resolutions, as well as the decisions of the Supreme Council for the Country's Defence.

After plenum debates, the Senate passed the law with two abstentions.

During the closing part of the session, the Senate commenced the debates on the Draft Law on Romanian Citizenship, a document of great importance and urgency, as stated by the Ministry of Justice representative, who presented the rationale.

Government Press Bureau Release on Tarom Strike

AU1512204290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1725 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—In connection with the Tarom navigating staff's strike, the Romanian Government's Press Office published a handout stating that the government will endorse a decision on the air navigating personnel after the enactment of the respective law forwarded to the parliament for debate and approval. Talks were held on December 13 between representatives of the government, the Tarom administration and the Tarom Navigating Staff Union.

Despite all this, the handout specifies, the aforementioned trade union sent a protest to the government on December 14 which contains claims unknown to any side participant in the talks.

That is why, the press release underscores, we are surprised to note that, through its attitude, the Tarom Navigating Staff Union flagrantly violates the spirit of the trilateral meeting on December 13 as the claims

advanced on December 14 actually stand proof of a pretext for a strike decided upon long before.

Tarom Continues Strike, Suspends All Flights

AU1712125590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1146 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—The General Executive Council of the Trade Union of the Tarom navigating staff released to the press on December 16 a communique announcing that as the negotiations conducted on December 15 with the executives of the Ministry of Public Works, Transport and Physical Planning failed to result in a clear and firm settlement of their claims, the Special General Assembly of the Union decided to continue the strike.

In a release, the Tarom company announces that, in consideration of the continuation of the navigators' strike, it has to suspend all its flights as of December 19.

Petre Roman's 16 Dec Television Address

AU1712105690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1024 GMT 17 Dec 90

["Text" of speech by Prime Minister Petre Roman in Bucharest on 16 December]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—Prime Minister Petre Roman spoke on Television Sunday [16 December] night. Following is the text of his address:

Like so far in post-communist Romania, I am today on the side of the president of the country and of the parliament of the country for the maintenance of political and social stability, of the peace and quiet for the people in this country.

Today, just like one year ago exactly, I am on the side of Timisoara. But questions have arisen in Romanian society and they worry us. I must give precise answers to questions that comprise interrogations, lack of knowledge, concern, discontent. Some of these questions directly concern the government, what it has achieved and what it tries to achieve.

Little by little, the economic mechanism with its bowels and its external antennas is being put into motion. A new positive dynamics is being born. The signs of reform in the course of the Romanian economy are obvious.

I must mention a few of them today.

On 8 September Law No. 15 on the reorganization of the former state enterprises into autonomous units and commercial companies took effect. On 1 November the price liberalization process started. Central planning was dropped in favor of guided programming. In agreement with the reform, 19 autonomous units have been set up so far, as well as 1,000 commercial companies, 50,000 small private enterprises, 500 joint ventures with foreign capital, of which 350 in the past three months. Constitutional changes and the economic, financial levers put to work in line with the government's economic programme have brought important changes in the economy. After four months when industrial production had dropped continuously—June through September—after the new economic laws became effective in September, the following can be said: The marketable industrial production had increased 4.2 per cent in October from September, and 4.7 per cent in November for October, these levels being adjusted to the number of work days and measured in steady prices. Also in terms of steady prices, labor productivity had risen 5.7 per cent in October from September, and 11.2 per cent in November from October. Electricity consumption dropped from an average 71.3 kw-hr over January-September to 68.7 kw-hr over October-November.

The consolidation of the reform process through the price liberalization started on 1 November has strengthened the concern of economic agents, of enterprises to economically administer the resources and increase physical production through an efficient activity. As a result, physical production had increased in November in 12 out of 15 industries surveyed on a sample of 182 basic products, after the number of work days were duly adjusted from October to November. Here are a few examples: heat and electricity—plus 14.7 per cent , ferrous metallurgy—plus 13.6 per cent, chemistry and petrochemistry plus 5.9 per cent, pulp and paper plus 27.9 per cent, clothing plus 19.6 per cent. Compared with October and November 1989, slaughtered meat delivered to the market was 141.2 per cent up in October (a nearly two and a half increase) and 98.2 per cent up in November; meat preparations were 46 percent up in October and 30.1 per cent up in November; fish 85 per cent up in October and 65 per cent up in November; gasoline : 201 per cent up in October and 145 per cent up in November.

Encouraged by the government's economic programme, in the past few months big foreign companies concluded with Romania long-term investment and cooperation agreements. Among them are a French Company for a 400 million French Franc worth of sugar beet production and the modernization of four sugar factories; a German investment of 300 million DM in the 330 megawatt units at Rovinari and Turceni. Siemens of Germany has pledged 100 million DM for the manufacture of digital telephone exchanges. An agreement of the same size is being negotiated with Alcatel. A U.S. firm will make cosmetics and detergents, a British and German company will make mineral oils, another Swiss one has struck a deal for petroleum refining and aluminium manufacture. A French firm has expressed interest in the construction of a 500 million French Franc international trade center, a German firm—in chocolate manufacture and coffee conditioning, an Italian firm—in motorway construction, Texas Oil and Gas Equipment of the United States in the modernization of refineries.

Credit lines for 700 million U.S. dollars were opened by France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Austria, Switzerland, Turkey for Romania's modernization and re-equipment programmes.

Negotiations are under way with Japan, South Korea, Finland, South Africa. There are definite positive signs from the United States and Denmark as well.

Lately we have had daily meetings with the trade unions, and we have been studying the position of each sector of the economy in order to re-structure it and set it on sound foundations.

But there is yet another kind of question. To the questions that enclose the devastating breath of evil, of unfaithfulness, of fearlessness of god, I answer with fearlessness. I love my country, its land and its people, because ever since I opened my eyes, I have been taught to love them and to believe that I belong to a wonderful people. Let nobody cherish any illusion. I took part in the revolution and won along with it, with a clean conscience and my wrath merged with the people's. And I will not budge, unreasonable noise, ambition for power will not budge me. Let no one ever count on cowardice. I can only be a partner to wisdom, intelligence creative passion and love. Thank you.

Student Protest Demonstration Held in Cluj

AU1712210290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1926 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—Monday afternoon a march was organised in Cluj by that town's students convention which was attended by over 3,500 students.

The march started in the Unirii [Union] Square where a declaration of principle was read underscoring that the students' movement was militating for the solidarity of democratic forces and for our national being's dignity, was non-violent and demanded the resignation of the country's president and of the government.

The march took place on the main streets of the town, blocking the traffic, the police bodies made great efforts to avoid incidents. [sentence as received] The citizens in the streets and in the transport means expressed their disapproval for that march and asked the students to deal only with learning.

Iasi Students Protest Being Urged To Strike

AU1812112090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0940 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/12/1990—Iasi's Medical Student Association and the strike committees of Iasi's Faculties of Mechanical and Chemical Engineering sent a protest to the leaders of the Iasi branch of the Christian Democratic Peasant Party and to the Steering Committee of the "Agora" Society for their political propaganda and incitation of Iasi students to strike. Such abuses are a serious cause for concern to the students who consider that their solidarity with the other academic centers shouldn't be used as political capital by political parties.

Bishop Tokes Discusses Hungarian Minority Issue

AU1012134290 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 5 Dec 90 pp 2-3

[Interview with Presbyterian Bishop Laszlo Tokes by Gyorgy Jozsef Farkas in Budapest; date not given: "Interview With Laszlo Tokes Prior to His Return Home—Some People Want to Steal the Revolution"]

[Text] [Farkas] Mr. Tokes, how do you feel nowadays? How did the last days in hospital pass?

[Tokes] To use a sporting term, I think I have turned into the straight. In the past three weeks, we turned this hospital room into an office, because all I needed was to get stronger to be able to stand on my feet. I am very grateful to this hospital and to Hungary where I was received as every Transylvanian in trouble should continue to be received in the future too.

[Farkas] We are glad to see that you are indeed in very good physical shape, but how is your spirit? What did you think about during this forced period of rest?

[Tokes] I came to realize that it was too early to feel joy in our countries. The situation is much too complicated and the past is much too burdened to radically change all this in a few months with a small change in the regime and a cosmetic reorganization. This is a depressing realization, but we need this to be able to progress in the right direction. We owe this to ourselves and to our decency to fight a worthwhile battle. The joyous relief of December was followed by depression, but this should not lead to loss of spirits or resignation. Things were worse during the Ceausescu regime and we did not give up hope. Romanian citizens can at least say now that there is a chance to live in a different world. It would be very bad to underestimate what we have achieved so far and fall into a moral and spiritual apathy.

The situation of the Hungarians in Romania is part of this picture. On the one hand, we can live as Hungarians, unlike one year ago; on the other hand, this liberty also means proportional burdens. Certain political circles in Romania view us with deliberate suspicion and antipathy, and these circles are not interested in our very existence. They continue the Ceausescu line, according to which our mere existence is disturbing, and we are guilty even if we do nothing. Sometimes we do not even know what to do. If we are submissive, they regard this as a sign of weakness; if we say no, they say we are aggressive and anti-Romanian. We are now in a situation which is not suitable at all for dialogue and rapprochement, and some forces want to perpetuate this situation. To put things in very simple terms, some circles—but let us call them by their name: the followers of the old

regime, the Securitate, the apparatus men, and a strange association of these people who operate from the background—deliberately caused Romanian-Hungarian relations to deteriorate. After a short period of withdrawal, around February 1990, these circles seemed to act under an order and said that now they would halt the cart. Since then, whatever we do is wrong. This is the policy of a court clique that is active somewhere and is systematically blocking relations. So long as this cannot be radically exterminated, believe me, whatever Hungarian policy is, it will be wrong. Likewise, whatever the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ] does, it will also be wrong.

[Farkas] What are your plans?

[Tokes] The coming Christmas, the Episcopate, Timisoara, and the emergency of Hungarians in Romania are calling me back home. I am going home because I know I must go home. I could choose something else, and I could spend another month or two in Budapest, because I am not yet fully recovered. However, there is the Episcopate which we just began to reorganize when I had this accident. Besides, Timisoara and the anniversary of the revolution make it necessary for me to go home, so much so that we even prepared a plan for the first anniversary of the revolution. Our church, our Episcopate, and I, myself, as the former priest of Timisoara, will also commemorate the anniversary in a series of events to be organized in Timisoara. I think that we must not waste the "Timisoara capital"; on the contrary, we must increase it. Lately, some forces have saught to deprive Timisoara of its pioneering role, its real merit, and its importance. Some circles want to steal the revolution.

Therefore, we will hold a church conference in Timisoara on 15-16 December. I called the representatives of Eastern-Central European churches from six countries, from Austria to Soviet Bessarabia, Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox, and Baptist priests. I started from the premise that the churches are committed to the cause of nations and national minorities. Let me add that, unfortunately, they were often also committed in the wrong sense. However, this does not change the fact that they are competent and should accept this mission. Such an ecumenical meeting could be a step forward in the direction of rapprochement, all the more so because, at least in this part of the world, churches have always been able to exercise great influence on the masses. Such a Romanian-Hungarian meeting was organized in Ujvidek recently and, as far as I know, NEPSZABADSAG reported on this meeting. However, this meeting in Ujvidek was a bilateral Romanian-Hungarian meeting; here, in Timisoara, the meeting will cover everyone, from Serbs to Slovaks. We would like to strengthen rapprochement with all of them, in all the national minority aspects.

[Farkas] After returning home, in addition to your church tasks, you will obviously also deal with the affairs of the Hungarians in Transylvania. Do you see any possibility of moving the issue out of the current dead end through your personal contacts or your acquaintances in leading Romanian circles?

[Tokes] Unfortunately, there has been no real communication between the Romanians and Hungarians for a long time. During the old regime, no such thing could develop because society simply could not discuss its problems, let alone the Hungarian-Romanian issue. We inherited this situation. Unfortunately, we are mutually suspicious of each other. There are no communication channels. Although I have doubts, I consider the church contacts to be very important. It would be a pity not to make use of these contacts, although we have not yet succeeded in this either. Almost no interest has emerged in this issue, and we are lagging behind the accelerated social and political events. Perhaps I only express my desire when I say that the churches should lead the way. There is also a need for a regular or extraordinary RMDSZ congress, because the RMDSZ has also been lagging behind current requirements. It is very important that the issue of a democratic Romania be the main goal, and the Hungarian issue should be part of this. I would not like to be a member of a RMDSZ which constantly licks its own wounds.

In conclusion, let me say that I very much fear a series of diversionary and provocative maneuvers in December which could even involve the use of arms. We must be very careful and draw the attention of people abroad and at home to this, because every noble intention and holy wish can again be misguided.

[Farkas] Romanian-Hungarian relations are burdened by numerous negative developments. Where do you see the opportunity and chances of solving this problem?

[Tokes] I am convinced that we cannot speak of Romanian- Hungarian interstate relations without taking into consideration the Hungarians in Romania. I would say that we should talk about three-way partnership relations. I am astonished when I hear responsible Romanian leaders declare that, essentially, there is no such thing as a national minority or a common problem concerning Transylvania, because all this is an internal affair. All this reminds me of Ceausescu. The Romanian leadership cannot afford to declare such things about us, all the more so because we were democratically elected into the Romanian Parliament. They should immediately ask us there about our opinion about Hungarian-Romanian interstate relations. In my opinion, both the Romanian and the Hungarian leadership should seek our opinion about this. We are not just some kind of addition to this problem, somewhere in the background! Mr. Petre Roman is ready to recognize the importance of economic relations, but he declines to do the same with the issue of the Hungarian national minority. He declares that the Romanians living beyond the borders of Romania, including Romanians in Bessarabia and Bucovina, are part of the spiritual community of Romanians, but he questions the same rights in our case, in the case of Hungarians, and he refuges to discuss this issue.

Therefore, I think it is important to repeatedly stress that we should base ourselves on these three-way relations; in my opinion, this would be a good starting point towards improving Romanian-Hungarian political relations.

Bishop Tokes' Statement Upon Return to Romania

AU1512200190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—After a long medical treatment underwent in Hungary, I returned home at Oradea, where my bishopric is, stated Mr. Laszlo Tokes to the ROMPRES correspondent in Timisoara. My return means to be faithful to my native land, to my motherland. It also means my comeback to the country's tumultuous social life in a sincere wish to serve it with devotion not only individually but also as a representative of the reformed church and as a Hungarian Democratic Union of Romania honorary chairman.

On the first anniversary of the people's December 1989 revolution I organized an International Ecumenical Conference which is also an opportunity to commemorate the martyrs who died under the dictatorship's bullets, all those who fought for a happier world, free of any tension. Timisoara was and is a model of peaceful coexistence between people of different languages, religions and conceptions.

I call on all the country's citizens to seek the way to democratization by peaceful means, through spiritual renewal in harmony with the gospel.

Senators' Attitude Against Tokes Criticized

AU1512210990 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Dec 90

[Anton Uncu note: "Threat"]

[Text] Mr. Vasile Vacaru, senator of Gorj, would like to know what stand the government will take in the case of Mister Laszlo Tokes, who harmed—both at home and abroad—the Romanian state, its leaders, and the parliament, harmed the legal order, instigated public disorder, and carried out acts against the state order, falsifying Romania's image abroad, thus worsening the economic crisis.

We suspect that there are reasons to be displeased with the statements made by Mister Laszlo Tokes, however, certainly there are infinitely many motives for us to be displeased with what is actually going on in our country. It is an illusion to believe that a man—even if he is Laszlo Tokes—could worsen Romania's image in the world. I believe that Senator Vacaru's interpellation is not directed at Tokes but at all those who dare making statements that are not to the current power's liking. Thus, Mr. Vacaru reminds us that if we do what Tokes is doing we might be.... Slowly, slowly the dictatorship is getting instated.

There are people who would defend it, since President Iliescu has become the commander of the Army as well.

Bishop Tokes on Press Coverage

AU1712164990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1532 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Report on interview with Bishop Laszlo Tokes by unidentified reporter; place and date not given]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—"Those from CORRIERE DE LA SERRA made an abuse," says reformed bishop Laszlo Tokes in an interview with the independent daily "ADEVARUL," answering a question asking him to confirm or infirm that he told the Italian newspaper: "Even if I am not able to walk I shall lead a second revolution in Romania." "We need a continuing revolution," the bishop went on "but I must specify that I haven't thought of a popular revolt or of a bloody revolution. To me, as a bishop, the revolution means a change of mentality, of the spirit, of social structures. The government," he underlined, "that claims to be the continuator of the revolution, would have to wish for a revolution in this sense."

Answering another question that asked him to make clear if the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" mystified the truth alleging in its 21 November issue that he would have said that "only the street will be able to influence the change of government. A revolutionary change is needed, similar with the one in December '89," Laszlo Tokes said "I suppose this newspaper (?quoted) me right."

To a question "When the teams of Romania and Hungary play a match, whose supporter you are?" Laszlo Tokes replied "Hungary's. There is a spiritual community I never tried to conceal."

The bishop admits he is no longer popular, not even in Timisoara, and says: "I lost much of my popularity and of my status as a spiritual leader. For instance the people of Timisoara did not elect me to the Senate, although I ran in the elections."

Referring to the situation of the Hungarian minority now, Laszlo Tokes specified "It is much better. I have the right to fight for political and cultural interests. We have been restored institutions that were denied to us, the press is free, but we also want higher education in Hungarian."

Asked if Hungarian nationals were physically assaulted, the bishop answered: "There were cases."

Brucan Calls on Opposition To Be 'Constructive'

AU1712201390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1858 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—Referring to the fact that the political life in Romania has seen strong convulsions of late, that political and social forces, not

negligible at all, show their discontent in various forms (strikes, demonstrations, marches), well-known politologist, Professor Silviu Brucan, assesses in an interview with the daily "ADEVARUL" that this would be an outcome of the situation created after the May 20 elections when the FSN [National Salvation Front] outnumbered by far as a political force the historical Liberal and Peasant parties.

I think the over one million votes the FSN got in addition to the initially calculated ones owe to the destabilizing actions before the elections to which the Romanians' overwhelming majority had a negative reaction. People had been fed up with violence, with noisy street actions, inclusive of those in Bucharest's University Square, and wanted to rejoice at the new conditions of freedom and democracy. They needed peace. That is why, Mr. Brucan says, they voted the Front because they could see in it the only guarantee for quiet and stability.

As for the extremist forces of the opposition, the Romanian politologist is of the opinion that they have not seriously analysed the significance of the ballot, and continue to mistake the militant action of some scores of thousands of people come out in the streets for the "quiet majority" of the Romanian people that does not march along this line.

Precisely because the extra-parliamentary opposition has not rightly looked into the matter, it continues going along this line and cannot realize that the majority public opinion, "the great dumb" of Romania does not agree to such slogans as "the second revolution," "down with the government," "down with the Parliament," because they are afraid of the chaos which would occur in such a situation.

Our people must learn democracy, opines Mr. Brucan, and this can be done rather through the consolidation and improvement of the new democratic institutes than through the street strategy.

The Parliament seems to me to operate ever better, to have begun to play the due essential role it must have in a democratic state of law, he says. I have been impressed by the constitutional commission's report where a high sense of responsibility of the Liberal, Peasant, FSN and independent deputies has been brought into bold relief while elaborating this basic document. I have already said it, and I repeat it: a strong opposition is essential in a democracy. But now we need a constructive and not a destructive opposition which can but repeat, up to exasperation, street shouts, call to general strike and launch unsubstantiated slogans.

Alfa Trade Union Denies Political Ambitions

AU1712201890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1846 GMT 17 Dec 90

["Communique of 'Alfa' National Union Cartel" ;issued in Bucharest on 17 December not given]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—The National Union Cartel 'Alfa' denies with indignation the assessments of a number of political parties according to which it would have taken part in any talks or signed any paper which should presuppose a convention with any political force no matter what it may be. The union cartel states today, 17 December 1990, that it respects and supports the country's democratic institutions, Parliament and presidency, and categorically rejects any attempt of political forces to distort its activity. This subversion pursues only to undermine the resolution of the national conference of 14 December, an outcome of the will of the 1,500,000 trade unionists represented to that conference. We energetically condemn the so-called historical experience of some parties which make by politics the only instrument apt to propel them in the fight for power. We ask the television, the radio and the press to support us in washing out the insult brought to those who have pinned their hopes on the 'Alfa' Union Cartel as a defender of the economic and social interests of the working people. We call on all social forces, on students, intellectuals, on the other union centrals to do their utmost to lucidly safeguard national interests no matter the difficulties they have to cope with, reads the communique of the press office of the 'Alfa' cartel signed by Mr. Dan Mocanescu.

'Infratirea' Calls for Leaders' Resignation

AU1812102590 Bucharest AZI in Romanian 11 Dec 90 p 3

["Infratirea" Federation Council Leader Nicolae Preda signed "Open Letter to the Government"; place and date not given]

[Text] To Prime Minister Petre Roman: The "Infratirea" Federation of the Independent Trade Unions in the Field of Machine Building, during the meeting of its council held in Oradea on 28 November 1990, examined the economic situation of enterprises in which it carries out its activity and noticed that the economic crisis is deteriorating and that this is a crisis of the system with serious social implications.

Being aware of the fact that the price liberalization of the entire economic life represents the only possible solution to overcome the deadlock, as early as April 1990, the "Infratirea" Federation proposed to the Provisional Government concrete measures on the complete or partial abrogation of certain laws and decrees, an act which would have brought about decentralization, autonomy, and economic revival.

In accordance with the stated position, the "Infratirea" Federation reasserted its support with the government program presented by the prime minister and stressed the need for rapid and concrete measures for the implementation of social and economic reform.

In this respect, the representatives of the "Infratirea" Federation, within the framework of the joint Government-Trade Union Commissions, participated in the activity of working out draft laws of social and economic interest.

At the same time, through petitions, attempts to hold a dialogue with the representatives of the government, warning strikes, and the general strike on 13 September 1990, we triad to draw the Government's attention to the need for its direct and responsible involvement in seeking solutions to the economic problems generated by the socialist economic system; those problems can be summed up as: serious lack of raw material, of other materials, of equipment, energy, financial means in hard currency, and the lack of several economic agents for the same type of product.

Although the government showed willingness to hold a dialogue with trade unions, up to now this dialogue has not taken concrete shape in actions and measures that could prove the government's capability to implement the announced program.

Because of the lack of efficiency in the implementation of the social and economic reform and because of the lack of response to the claims presented by our federation, we believe that the current government is unable to pool Romania out of the crisis.

Likewise, many senators and deputies, regardless of political orientation, noted the serious social and economic problems confronting our country's people. However, the Parliament, as a supreme legislative forum, has not taken the required measures to solve those problems.

Through its attitude toward the priorities of certain draft laws and through the improper attitude toward the concrete activity of the government, we believe that the activity of the parliament is not representative and we call on all deputies and senators who are aware of the serious situation of our country to show loyalty to the electorate and resign.

After the December events the whole nation wished for a government, Parliament, and president capable of achieving social justice. Through the prerogatives granted by the electoral law, the country's president, together with all democratic institutions, should also involve himself in the activity of clarifying the 1989 December and the Tirgu Mures events, as well as the 13-15 June Bucharest events, because the lack of clarification of those events has brought about serious moral, economic, and social prejudices both internally and in the international arena.

In connection with the aforementioned issues, the attitude adopted is not suitable for a president of a country that wishes to be considered a democratic country.

In connection with the aforementioned issues, the "Infratirea" Federation demands a conclusive and concise answer by 20 December 1990.

"Infratirea" Federation Council Leader Nicolae Preda

* Front's Attitude Toward RCP Examined

91BA0132A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 20 Nov 90 pp 1, 2

[Article by Anton Uncu: "Two Communist Parties?"]

[Text] From the very beginning the National Salvation Front [NSF] tried to convince us that it had nothing to do with the Communist Party [RCP]. Even when it admits—through Mr. Claudiu Iordache as its mouthpiece—that there is nothing to the left of the Front, it will do anything to avoid giving the impression that it has taken the place left vacant by the Communist Party. Except that people don't believe it any longer. How could people still believe what the Fropnt says? Only if a Communist Party existed under that very same name. What manna from heaven! What a unique chance!... And such a chance has actually materialized. The RCP has regrouped and immediately merged with two other political groups in order to erase its tracks (because this immediate merger was not without a purpose). Constantin Pirvulescu and Ilie Verdet remained in full sight. The NSF immediately distanced itself and expressed disapproval. How can you still say that the NSF is the same as the RCP, when the RCP is a distinct party of which the NSF disapproves? Now it can flirt with social-democracy at leisure, no one can still accuse it of being a Communist Party. Excellent move! Whose move was it? The old communists', who were thus carrying water for the Front after the latter deprived them of the power? Could they be so politically inept after all the practice they've had? Is it possible they don't realize that if they emerge under the old name of RCP (whether merged or not) they won't have any supporters? Even the Italian Communist Party, who didn't harm Italy a fraction as badly as the RCP harmed Romania, has changed its name, while the RCP, guilty of genocide (not the genocide attributed to it with suspect ineptness in order to absolve certain members of the ceausescu nomenklatura, but the genocide of 45 years of communism that mutilated our souls), the party that ordered fire opened on people, is not changing its name? Hard to believe. So who made the move and for whose benefit? You may say that the NSF was once again behind this maneuver. I don't think so. Didn't you notice how swiftly and vehemently it took a stand against the RCP? It is true that the NSF did not allow the RCP to be outlawed and that it discouraged the suggestion of some of the old communist leaders to self-dissolve the party, but that dowsn't mean that it was in favor of its de facto reappearance.

Already on 24 April I called attention—in this very same newspaper so dear to the Front—to the fact that if the Front failed because of economic difficulties and its serious government blunders, and if it managed to compromise the major opposition parties by a slander campaign of rare violence, the conditions would become propicious for the reappearance of the RCP (under that or a different name) because of the generalized lack of

confidence of the electorate and under the slogan "you're worse off now than before."

And lo and behold, because of the absurd, economically unsound measures of price liberalization, this is precisely the extreme situation in which we find ourselves. Less that 20 days later the Communist Party popped up. And so God has blessed us with two communist parties instead of just one.

At the time I also said that there was no real danger that a revived Communist Party could seize the power and that such an attempt could bring us out into the streets again. But don't be surprised if when we begin to shout "Down with the Communist Party," the NSF itself will shout right along with us and even louder that us. Which is one way to bring us to national consensus. When it comes to communism we forget the hunger, the cold, the bad government, 13-15 June, the commissions of investigation that never come to any conclusion, we forget the scenarios and their authors, the trouble in Bessarabia, the minorities problem, the privatization and market economy, those who have begun to sell our seaside, houses, and hopes for a pittance, and the blows dealt to the press through economic and administrative measures that left Europe agape. And there's a whole lot more that we are willing to forget. Does anyone have the courage to say, "Hell with this lame rabbit and let's see instead what the government and parliament are up to?" You are not anticommunists, we are anticommunists, the NSF will say. And after that try to convince Europe that this is not so. While the town continues to chase the lame rabbit without noticing what it is carrying on its back. Whoever is riding a tiger has to have a lame rabbit.

Contracts With Foreign Partners Cannot Be Met

AU1812111890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0942 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 18/12/1990—In a brief survey of Romania's foreign trade activities for the past 11 months, the daily "ADEVARUL" shows that, by comparison with last year's same period, exports account for only 56.6 percent in convertible currencies and 54.8 percent on a clearing basis. The severe drop against last year's levels is certainly alarming, writes the newspaper, but more alarming is the fact that an impressive number of contracts with foreign partners cannot be met.

By the end of this year, specialists estimate, contracts worth 669 million dollars and 1,344 million rubles respectively, will fail to be honoured.

The situation is worsened by imports amounting, over the same period, to (?15.2) percent in convertible currencies, and 85.4 percent in rubles. Consequently, the trade balance deficit as at 30 November, 1990, was of 1,413.7 million dollars and 1,487.9 million rubles.

* Statistics Predict 'Economic Bankruptcy'

91BA0151A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Nov 90 p 3

[Article by Cornel Drinceanu: "Anatomy of an Economic Bankruptcy"]

[Text] The Public Information Bulletin No. 10/1990 issued by the National Commission for Statistics listed the shortfalls registered in Romania's economy in 10 months of the past year in comparison with the same period of the previous year. Thus, the dynamics of the major value indexes expressed in percentage points look as follows: industrial commodities production—79.1 percent; labor productivity in the national industry—77.2 percent; investment volume—56.4 percent; exports in clearing rubles—53.8 percent; exports in convertible currency—56.5 percent; goods deliveries to the market stocks—100.3 percent (!); consumer services: 96.6 percent. Industrial production went as follows (in percentage points): coal—63.7 percent; crude oil—86.6 percent; natural gas—86.1 percent; electrical power—85.2 percent; steel—67.9 percent. Deliveries of major commodities to the market stock presented the same trend: cotton and cotton-type fabrics—87.2 percent; wool and wool-type fabrics—87.2 percent; silk and silk-type fabrics—79.7 percent; textiles—89.3 percent; footwear—83.1 percent.

No financial indexes were published, but Mr. Vatasescu told us on a TV show that in the industry as a whole expenditures per 1,000 lei production goods came to 1,042 lei, which is equivalent to a 140 billion lei loss. Thus, all the production indexes are dropping and only expenditures are rising.

We do not have official figures on the budget and the balance of payments, but we can assume that we are running a deficit in those areas, too.

Let us try to separate the causes of this economic backslide. The phenomenon is extremely complex, but the causes can be divided into three categories: the government's economic mistakes, leaders' political blunders, and finally the objective causes inherited from the dictatorship.

The leaders keep saying that the main cause is that people are not working. True. But have our people all of a sudden become lazy for no good reason?

Why has the attitude toward work changed? Because of the wage demagoguery carried on during the electoral campaign, when there was no production covering for the wages awarded and when whoever could afford it stayed home and received half of their salary plus all the other benefits. That was when some of the people concluded that one didn't have to work to survive. "Mr. Iliescu will take care of us!" It is true that some people misinterpreted the meaning of democracy and confused it with anarchy, but that doesn't mean that we should deliver ourselves into the hands of racketeers and thieves.

Among the economic mistakes made there were also: The pay increases given to some workers (which may have been justified, but not in the present conditions); decreeing four free Saturdays, and discouraging the penetration of foreign capital ("We won't sell out our country!").

Early retirement may have been a mistake, too, because very many of those who retired were essential personnel, something that caused disarray in many work places. Some say that the 86 percent of the electorate [who voted for the National Salvation Front] were stupid. No, they weren't stupid, they were gullible. They hoped that Mr. Iliescu will continue feeding them.

The first and worst political blunder was the Front's participation in the elections, soon followed by the campaign of hostility between workers and intellectuals and Romanians and Hungarians, the attempt to dismantle the opposition and the independent press, the arrest of innocent people in the streets, the rejection of dialogue, the trials bluff, the fact that no problematic issue has been clarified since December 1989 to this day, and so forth.

What did the government do to preempt economic bankruptcy? It issued Decision No. 1109 on price liberalization with its Annex No. 1 in which the government itself sets the price for basic raw materials.

The prime minister is threatening to close down unprofitable enterprises. But what measures has the government taken to make profitable 1,000 existing enterprises? Considering that labor productivity is four to five times lower that in developed countries, that only 27 percent of the population in employed in services as compared to 60 percent [elsewhere], and especially that we don't have any surplus of anything, not even salt, we shouldn't have any unemployment. But the government must coordinate these areas.

Some people still ask what "others" would have done. At least they would have had support from the West.

The most-favored-nation clause could bring us $400 million a year, not to mention the fact that all economic aid was stopped in June. That means that we are losing $2 million every day.

The government's strongest point should be credibility in the West; our efforts have to be supported by an infusion of foreign capital, modern technologies, and assistance in all the areas. Our attitude toward the West must be governed mainly by economic interests.

Defense Minister Stanculescu on Military Issues

AU1712154390 Budapest NEPSZABADAG in Hungarian 15 Dec 90 pp 1,6

[Interview with Defense Minister Victor Stanculescu by Andras Peter in Bucharest; date not given: "Together on the Road Toward Truth"—first paragraph is NEPSZABADSAG introduction]

[Text] Since the changes in December 1989, General Victor Stanculescu has played a key role in Romanian politics. The famous slogan, "The Army is with us!" is no longer heard very often nowadays, and there are fewer soldiers on the streets, but Romania listens for the words and actions of the Army with unaltered attention. Relations between Romanian and Hungarian soldiers can be seen as special, in the positive sense of the word. Gen. Stanculescu, a soft-spoken and moderate man, received our Bucharest correspondent in his office to answer NEPSZABADSAG's questions.

[Peter] In spring 1990, particularly after the tragic events of Tirgu Mures, the population in Transylvania, and especially in Szekler land villages, complained about combat helicopters and other military aircraft disturbing the peace of the civilian population through repeated, provocative low-altitude flying. What purpose did these flights serve in that politically overheated period of time?

[Stanculescu] First of all, I would like to say that this was a qualitative jump in our military preparations. Compared to the yearly 10-15 flying hours per pilot last year, in 1990, we reached an average of 60-65 flying hours per pilot. This is a great gain, because we were almost getting out of practice.

However, that is no answer to your question. I would like to tell you what I told the people I met with in Hargita and Kovaszna county (I think it was in April 1990, after Easter); I met with the chairmen of the temporary national unity council, with the representatives of the Democratic Association of Hungarians in Romania [RMDSZ], and with the local representatives of the Roman Catholic Church, and I told them quite clearly that these activities were not part of the planned aviation program; the pilots wanted to demonstrate the air force in certain places. I also told the representatives in Hargita and Kovaszna county that I thought the pilots had made a fundamental mistake by persistently cruising over a site where members of the Hungarian minority were taking part in a religious ceremony. I personally apologized for what had happened.

However, flights are not only to be seen in that area; there are flights everywhere, at an intensive rate, even during this month of December, although this month presents difficulties. We want to follow our aviation program without fault. I think our pilots went beyond the strictly defined military limits because they were too zealous, and this was detrimental to the clear and clean image of the Army. Indeed, it should be clear that the Army is the protector of all Romanian citizens, regardless of religion or language.

[Peter] Many families would like conscripts to serve their period in the Army close to their home town, not 600 or 800 km away from home. Is there any reason why they should not be able to do so?

[Stanculescu] We have turned from national distribution to the principle of local distribution; this already applied

to the September draft. At the next draft, we will further consolidate this program, and we will bring soldiers closer to the areas that they know, to the places where they grew up. Indeed, if these young men become soldiers in the places where they were born, where they grew up, and where their parents live, they will feel more attached to the general principle of defense.

[Peter] An official statement relating to the events in Bucharest on 13-15 June, 1990, is about to be completed. You were one of the people to appear in front of the examining committee. At the time of the events, there were people who thought that one of the reasons why "the miners had to to clean up the mess" was because the Army remained passive. The Army was even criticized for this.

[Stanculescu] I was one of the people to appear in front of this committee. I hope that the official statement will be clear, concise, and very factual, because I provided all the necessary information. This information shows—and there is no need to wait for the committee's statement to know this—that, having collected all the relevant information, and having understood what was going on by basing itself on its own experience, the Army intervened with the greatest efficiency. As a result of this intervention, public order was restored at 0115 hours on the morning of 14 June.

[Peter] Let us dwell for a moment on these events. According to some sources, the miners did not leave Bucharest on 15 June; they allegedly stayed until 19 June, sleeping in some civilian buildings.

[Stanculescu] On 15 June—or rather, in the afternoon of 14 June—upon my return from the Warsaw Pact ministerial committee meeting in Berlin—in fact, this was the last ministerial committee meeting to be held in that military/political context—I immediately stated my views on what I had witnessed in the capital. It was not just me who made a stance, public opinion did the same. I asked for the disorder to come to an end, a disorder that had been created by us—the citizens of this country—and by people from outside Romania. That was how the idea came about to let the miners' units sleep over in two large establishments, the Polivalens hall (a cultural and sports hall—editor's footnote) and the exhibition complex (better known as the Bucharest international trade hall). It proved impossible to place 948 miners; that is the exact figure. I took these miners to two Bucharest garrison units with the clear and exact aim—and this was also proven by later actions—that they should not wander around the city in a disorganized manner. Subsequently, these miners were transported directly home from the respective units. Given that they had little food, clothing, or toiletries, we provided the miners with everything they needed, including the appropriate conditions for entertainment, relaxation, and rest. Thus, after 15 June, these miners did not take part in any unsupervised activities in the capital.

[Peter] What is the "Transylvanian Army?"

[Stanculescu] All I can say is that there is an information mistake here. As you also know, we have given historic names to a lot of our army's top units. We have given our 4th Army the name of Transylvania. Because we are an open army and everyone has to know this army, we want to clearly write the names on the entrance gates of each of our military units, just like in the past: This is the 10th Cavalry Regiment; this is the 7th Infantry Regiment, and so on. Besides, this 4th Army does not have any special problems except that its headquarters has been in Cluj for a very long time, since the postwar period. This army is in charge of the areas to the West and North of the Carpathians, namely of the entire Transylvanian Plateau, up to our Western Borders: Oradea and Arad.

[Peter] The public paid attention to the name of this army when Colonel General Paul Cheier's "Appeal of the Transylvanian Army" appeared before 30 August. Many people wondered whether the principle of depoliticizing the army in general does not also apply to this army and its commanders. If this principle does apply, how can you explain this action of the commanders of the 4th Army?

[Stanculescu] I think that this initiative derived from the fact that we allowed the main army headquarters to solve local issues independently. Well, although it emerged with good intentions, this initiative sounded a little different to a certain range of the local population. If you want, I can tell you that I have already clarified these issues. I contacted several political formations represented in the Parliament, the local prefectures, and the local political organizations. I hope that we will never again find any negative connotation in the positions of our army. Actually, the goal was to care for the calm of all the people who live in this area.

[Peter] The nature of the activity of Vatra Romaneasca has become increasingly obvious. However, how can you explain the fact that a lot of Romanian Army officers are members of this organization?

[Stanculescu] To tell you the truth, I do not have records of our officers who are members of the Vatra Romaneasca Federation. Obviously, the fact that, at least in its program, this organization claimed to be an apolitical one, drew some officers in this area into the Vatra Romaneasca. I think that we will have to clarify this question ourselves within the army in the coming period. If an organization claiming to be apolitical carries out a political activity, we will have to caution our people from openly participating in such an organization.

[Peter] You held talks with Hungarian Defense Minister Lajos Fur in the summer. Recently, we heard of the visit of another leading representative of the Romanian Army in Budapest. What is your opinion about the relations between the armies of the two neighboring countries?

[Stanculescu] I would like to approach this issue in a much broader connection. Actually, the issue here is that we should replace Romania's military security issues, which were part of the general political frameworks of

the Warsaw Pact in the past, with very good bilateral relations. [sentence as published] Therefore, when I was appointed defense minister in the provisional government and later confirmed in the present cabinet, I initiated talks with the defense ministers of the Soviet Union, Hungary, Yugoslavia, and Bulgaria. I would like to point out the working nature and very open and good atmosphere of these talks. We worked out a framework cooperation agreement following these meetings. Both Lajos Fur and myself were for discovering all the possible contacts, a whole range of such contacts. We included all this in a framework agreement Lajos Fur signed on the occasion of the Romanian Army chief of staff's visit in Budapest, and I also signed here in my office in the presence of the interim charge d'affaires and military attache of the Hungarian Embassy in Bucharest at the end of November. This is the first bilateral framework agreement between the two armies after the military component of the Warsaw Pact completely ceased to exist as a guarantor of security in this area. In my opinion, this is a very complex agreement and could provide an example for other agreements to be signed with other armies, which we would like to sign primarily with our neighbors, but also with other Western armies. All this is to change the Warsaw Pact-NATO relations with such bilateral agreements, until we achieve a pan-European security agreement. In our intention, these bilateral agreements will provide direct security to our countries.

[Stanculescu] I can tell you that, after signing this framework agreement in Bucharest, I personally made a telephone call to Budapest; indeed, we are directly linked by telephone to the general staff of the Hungarian Army. It was the head of the Hungarian general staff, Borsics, who answered the telephone, because Minister Fur was just taking part in a government meeting. I informed Borsics about the signing of the agreement, and I told him that, as of now, we would have to start implementing this extremely broad and complex agreement. The agreement deserves to be published, so that it may serve as an example to politicians from various countries, including Hungary and Romania.

[Peter] According to my sources, this framework agreement also mentions cooperation between Romanian and Hungarian military historians. What could you tell me about the joint military historian committee?

[Stanculescu] We wanted to create this committee so that we could progress together on the road toward historical truth. Together, we want to uncover the blank and less blank areas that appear in the historical relations between our two countries. We want to present events as they actually were, and we want to create a greater openness between our countries. If we fail to do this, we cannot possibly become members of the European community of nations.

[Peter] As far as I know, the statue of the martyrs from Arad has been placed in a military unit; when could this statue be erected in a public square again?

[Stanculescu] You see, that is one of the questions that our military historian committee could solve.

[Peter] One more question: Many people were frightened by the aggressive tone of voice that marked your speech in Alba Iulia, on 1 December. Is there any direct danger threatening us?

[Stanculescu] I do not think that Romania has any outside enemies. Romania does not need to be afraid of anyone. It may well be that some people thought that the aggressive tone of my speech had certain nationalist nuances to it. I think that this speech was delivered with the best of intentions, so that the population of our country may know that in this turbulent world, it can safely rely on the Romanian Army, an army that includes members of all the national minorities among its leaders and soldiers. Together with the majority—the Romanians—these representatives of the national minorities have deserved our greatest appreciation: As soldiers of our Army, they have all met their requirements.

Military Agreement Concluded With Hungary

AU1312211590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2021 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—As is known, Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu, Romanian minister of national defense, and Lajos Fur, minister of defense of Hungary, met in October at Gyula and Arad where, pursuant to talks conducted, they agreed upon the basic principles of military cooperation.

Colonel-General Vasile Ionel, secretary of state and chief of staff of the Romanian Army has recently paid a visit to Budapest at the invitation of Lieutenant-General Laszlo Borsius, chief of staff of the Hungarian Army. The two signed the annex to the master agreement of cooperation between the two armies. On the occasion Minister Lajos Fur signed for Hungary the master agreement between the two defense ministries. The agreements came into force last week as the act was signed in Bucharest also by Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu.

The two ministers appreciated in the master agreement that the radical changes wrought in the two countries, the evolution of the international political-military situation, the European states' efforts toward detente and confidence, toward strengthening stability and security, should give the European peoples guarantees for creative life. It was also assessed that the stabilizing role ensured by the fine relations extant between the two armies allow for the development of collaboration between armed forces, helping a greater mutual confidence between Romania and the Republic of Hungary, between the Romanian and Hungarian people.

The annex signed by the chiefs of staff, a document of the accord signed by the ministers, comprises concrete aspects of bilateral cooperation as well as forms of activity. Their content shall be annually updated.

The accord allows first of all for mutual acquaintance with the military doctrines, stipulates exchange of experience at various levels, the formation of joint commissions at a General Staff level, at the level of territorial defense, commands of big units of the landed troops sent to the frontier zone, joint working commissions for the organization of the collaboration of the troops engaged in fighting the consequences of calamities and industrial catastrophes in the frontier zone.

The accord allows for the development of the scientific relations between the two armies in wide areas, such as, for instance, exchange of information between military historians, in-depth analysis of the scientific discoveries in the domain of history in relation to the events on which standpoints differ in the two peoples' history.

The setting up is stipulated of a joint commission to look after the historical monuments in both countries' territories.

With the dissolution of the military organization of the Warsaw Treaty, the necessity of a new security policy emerges in Central Europe. To maintain stability in this zone, very important are the bilateral military relations, the bilateral accords that should be part and parcel of the general relations of the countries in the area.

It is to this end that Colonel-General Victor Stanculescu and Lajos Fur signed the Romanian-Hungarian military master agreement, the first of the kind between the neighbor armies, which, according to the two ministers, will openly and directly help in the course of its implementation development and further enhancement of the confidence between the two armies and countries.

* TV Treatment of Defense Ministry Communique

91BA0150A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 27 Nov 90 p 2

[Article by Valerian Stan: "The Advocates of Lies"]

[Text] A few days ago TVR [Romanian Television] set aside a legthy spot on one of its "Current Events" programs for a communique issued by the leadership of the Ministry of National Defense [MND]. Judging by the multitude of typewritten pages that the speaker on duty, obliging but rather embarrassed, introduced to us, we were entitled to hope that the democratization of the Army was finally going to be proclaimed. Unfortunately, however, our disappointment gaped large between hope and the bleak reality.

In a few words, this was another attempt by the MND leadership to stifle any voice that, having abandoned the front of Ceausescu-type complicity, is no longer willing to accept lies and injustice as basic principles.

At the beginning of his vehement indictment speech, the spokesman of the military power, Lieutenant Colonel (since the revolution) Mija, warned us that attacks against the Army have multiplied in recent times. The truth about this, like about the rest of the incriminating report, is rather tenuous. Because if it is true that the attacks have indeed increased, they are not directed—you guessed it—against the Army as a whole. It is a diversion, as the masters of the above mentioned spokesman would indignantly say. They are directed at the people who as—past and present—wielders of the military power, enslaved the Army to the defunct regime and agreed to bring it out on fratricide barricades, and who today have no interest in allowing truth and justice to take root in garrisons. That is why the emissary of our old generals was ordered to substitute a fake target for the real target of the "increased attacks."

The indictment then proceeded to subject to pitiless accusations two "documents published" by the inconvenient CADA [Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army]. About the first we were told that it was destabilizing and almost criminal, and almost nothing else. For the benefit of curious televiewers we will add that the document demandedfor example, that the "generals of Timisoara," Stanculescu, Guse, and Chitac, be held accountable for the tragedy on the Bega river. It also requested the retirement of reserve generals exhibiting dictatorial nostalgia. It also requested... But who's listening?

So, silently on to the second "published document," about which we were told that it was destabilizing and almost criminal, and almost nothing else. Although it was not said so in so many words, it seems that [the leadership] is bothered by the insistence with which the destabilizing CADA is demanding that justice be done about those who continue to hide their guilt behind shiny general insignia, and by the truth that the Army leadership is being blackmailed into having to accept the humiliating and dangerous protection of certain distinguished political figures in government. If you have to carry Timisoara on your back, you obviously abandon the Army to the political arm, you agree to complicity about the miners incident in June, and you put your troops in hock sine diae so that the rulers can have peace and quiet. And if so ordered, you get angry at the "small group of destabilizing officers who are playing into the hands of other political forces." And foreign agents.

Referring to the fact that several CADA members were ousted from the Army, the ambassador of the bellicose ministry read out of the missive with which he was dispatched to Studio 4 that the memorable order was signed by our charming minister at the insistence of the destabilizing officers. In the circumstances, could he refuse? Certainly not! Although the gossip is that he himself allegedly told the respective commanding officers: "I order you to suggest that I approve!" Go make sense of it! Or could it be that he needed accomplices?...

And finally, the military press spokesman told us that the said dangerous officers are inciting to insubordination. The military cadres are urged by the inciters to "stand up against," or so we were told. Against "attempts to reinstate communism and totalitarianism," as we were

also told. Yet another silence for which the advocates of televized lying should blush. As for us, we should make sure that we protect ourselves from liers who mix a little truth with their lies.

Ministry Pleased at State Department Declaration

AU1512191790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1845 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 15/12/1990—The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania has learned with special satisfaction about the December 14, 1990 declaration of the U.S. State Department on the anniversary of the Romanian Revolution, shows a statement the said Ministry sent to ROMPRES today.

We see this declaration as a new expression of the support the U.S.A. has not stopped to grant for the fulfillment of the goals set by the December 1989 Romanian revolution, for the settlement of the difficult economic and social situation inherited from the totalitarian dictatorial regime and the building of a democratic society based on political pluralism and full observance of human rights. We express in this way as well, on behalf of Romania's Government, our gratitude for the food aid worth 80 million dollars we were offered during the visit the U.S. Secretary of State James Baker paid to Bucharest in February 1990, for the U.S. Government's assistance in medical apparatus and humanitarian aid that amounted to over 25 million dollars, the statement underscores. We also mention with the same gratitude the donations we received from private persons and organizations from the U.S.A., which stand at more than 23 million dollars. And we are also grateful to the U.S. Government for its decisions made known in the last few days to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, namely to grant further humanitarian and food aid as well as credits to purchase oil, and for the support to the privatization process as part of the economic reform promoted by the Romanian Government. All this is an expression of solidarity with the Romanian Government's efforts toward improving the people's living standard in the shortest possible time, which goes down in the fine traditions of the Romanian-American relations.

We are aware that we are at the beginning of societal democratization, that the institutions of our young democracy are still fragile, that the sequelas of the totalitarian regime still burden the Romanian sociopolitical climate. What is important is the Romanian Government's determination, which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is empowered to reiterate, to work for the consolidation of the state of law, for the rigorous observance of fundamental human rights and liberties, for the application of the economic reform and the transition to a market economy chief goals for which the heroes of the December 1989 revolution gave their lives.

The proclamation of the Romanian Parliament adopted on the first anniversary of the Romanian revolution underscores that programme of economic, political and social reforms the country needs can be implemented but in a climate of peace and through the cooperation of us all, through the understanding by all political groupings and parties, by all the country's citizens of the present and the future, through mutual tolerance and, more particularly, through work. In such a spirit, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs welcomes, on behalf of Romania's Government, the wish expressed in the U.S. State Department's declaration to encourage the Romanian Government and people in taking action toward fulfilling such goals in an atmosphere of domestic peace, free of any form of violence, the statement also shows.

Attaching special importance to its relations with the U.S.A., one of the states with the oldest democratic traditions and special responsibilities in maintaining international peace and security, and in stimulating interstate economic ties, the Ministry of Foreign affairs expresses, on this occasion as well, the Romanian Government's determination to develop Romanian-American links on all planes, in accordance with the principles of interstate relations and with the other provisions enshrined in the charter for a new Europe, the statement shows in conclusion.

Foreign Ministry Spokesmen Holds News Conference

AU1412055890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2134 GMT 13 Dec 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 13/12/1990—The finance ministers of the Common Market, gathered in Brussels, recommended on December 10 that Romania and Bulgaria be given aid consisting of 100 million ECUs (one U.S. dollar is equal to 1.4 ECUs) worth of food, 15 million ECUs worth of medicines and 150 million ECUs worth of energy. The sums are to be confirmed by the Council of Europe (at its summit on December 14, in Rome), stated on December 13 in a news conference Foreign Ministry Spokesman Ambassador Traian Chebeleu.

Answering a question as to whether Romania's relations with Taiwan might affect its relations with the People's Republic of China, the foreign ministry spokesman mentioned that Romania acknowledges only one regime, that of the People's Republic of China. Romania does not pursue to enter in any kind of relations with Taiwan, but then it does not oppose to Romanian firms' establishing relations with companies in Taiwan either. It only opposes to state firms and enterprises' doing so, since that would mean an official recognition of Taiwan.

Referring to the results of the visit in Denmark by Foreign Ministry Secretary of State Romulus Neagu, he mentioned that the Danish party showed fully receptive to the political dialogue and economic cooperation in the new conditions offered by the course of the economic reform and the building of the state of law in Romania. [sentence as received]

Denmark showed its readiness to support Romania in the European institutions, including for the granting of assistance on the line of the "Phare" program of the Group of the 24, the ratification of the Romania-EEC

cooperation agreement and the granting of the status of special invitee to the Council of Europe.

Referring to the recent visit of the Romanian Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase to Greece, the Foreign Ministry spokesman recalled a number of understandings reached on the occasion and also stressed the constant support received by Romania from Greece in strengthening its relations with the European Community.

Ambassador Traian Chebeleu also reported the options Romania plans for the summit expert meeting of the Balkan countries on matters of cultural cooperation, mass media and the human dimension, due in Sofia over December 18-19, as well as at the working meeting in Ankara, on December 19-21, that will analyze possibilities to set up a zone of economic cooperation in the Black Sea region.

Foreign Minister on Magyars in Transylvania

LD1512144190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 15 Dec 90

[Report on interview with Foreign Minister Adrian Nastase by Miklos Lengyel in Bucharest on 15 December—recorded]

[Text] [Lengyel] The Romanian Government would like a Hungarian-Romanian presidential summit, however, it has no firm idea about the date and the venue yet. This is what Romanian Foreign Minister Nastase told me some minutes ago. During the course of the interview I asked him about the fact that on the one hand the Romanian Government takes the stand that borders cannot be changed, and on the other hand, however, it refers to those Romanians who live in the Soviet Union as brothers. Since the minister himself is an international lawyer, I asked if he considered possible the changing of the borders between the Soviet Union and Romania. He replied that the chance for unification exists, just like in the German case because German unification in fact was brought about by the principle that borders in Europe can be eliminated in a peaceful manner. In his opinion one should not draw a parallel between Transylvania and Moldavia, for in Translyvania the Romanians are in the majority and the Magyars in the minority, whereas in Moldova the Romanians represent the majority and the Russian and the other nationalities are in the minority.

On Hungarian-Romanian relations, Adrian Nastase reckoned that these ties must impove after the termination or dissolution of the Warsaw Pact.

Pro-Bessarabia Group Against Soviet Treaty

AU1712201290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1829 GMT 17 Dec 90

["'Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina' Declaration-Appeal"; place and date not given]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 17/12/1990—"We are firmly against signing a new union treaty since that would only enforce a status-quo imposed on us by force an dictate 50 years ago and, implicitly, to acknowledge the mutilation of Bessarabia's territory and the abusive annexation of an important part of this territory by Ukraine," a declaration-appeal of the participants in the meeting of solidarity with the Romanians of Bessarabia reads. The meeting that took place Sunday, December 16, in Bucharest was organized by "Pro-Bessarabia and Bukovina" Cultural Association.

The appeal sent to the Parliament of Kishinev demands a resolution be adopted against signing the new Union Treaty, so as to keep this part of the country on the road to sovereignty.

In a telegram to the Great National Assembly of Kishinev, the participants in the meeting in Bucharest's Revolution Square declare themselves as part and parcel of that legislative forum and, therefore, vote against the Union Treaty being signed.

Draft Assembly Declaration on Crisis Published

LD1812113990 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1048 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 18 Dec (TANJUG)—A draft declaration has been drawn up in the Yugoslav federal parliament with a view to opening possibilities for a quiet, democratic and legal solution of the constitutional crisis which has been plaguing Yugoslavia for quite some time.

Without making a choice between whether Yugoslavia should be a federation or confederation, the draft declaration insists on the equality of all participants in the future dialogue, and urges that the common interests be defined by consensus. The text of the draft declaration, on which the Assembly of Yugoslavia Federal Chamber is to vote on December 28, was published in the Belgrade daily BORBA today.

The draft declaration insists that a unanimous agreement must be reached on the powers of the Yugoslav state bodies.

The draft document calls for respect for market economy, the freedom of entrepreneurship, the economic autonomy and equality of economic subjects on all of the territory of Yugoslavia, and Yugoslavia's broader inclusion in the European and other integration processes.

The draft document sets out that it is indispensable to ensure the full protection of the universal human rights and freedoms, including the right to political pluralism.

The signatories of the declaration would assume the obligation to respect national entity, the right of nations to self-determination, including secession, under jointly defined conditions, their right to voluntary unification or association, and the economic, political and cultural sovereignty of the republics.

The Belgrade daily POLITIKA EKSPRES today writes that the draft declaration provides the "last chance for preserving Yugoslavia as a European historical achievement in the Balkans."

Croatia Considers Retaliation Against Serbia

AU1512191190 Zagreb VECERNJI LIST in Serbo-Croatian 8 Dec 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "Croatia Strikes Back"]

[Text] After just over one month since the Serbian Assembly adopted a series of protectionist laws against Croatian and Slovene economies—with which it suspended a number of federal regulations, broke the integrity of the unified Yugoslav market, and inflicted great damage upon the economy of the two northwestern republics—the Assembly of the Republic of Croatia authorized the republican government to undertake retaliatory measures to protect the republic's interests.

Let us recall, following the decision of the Executive Council of Serbia of 1 November, that Serbia is applying the regulations concerning the payment of special taxes on the promotion [isticanje] of firms and the use of land and business premises by Slovene and Croatia enterprises in urban areas, granting consumer credits for goods produced in Serbia, and introducing anti-dumping and other protectionist measures which have cut off the Serbian market and imposed additional costs to the Croatian economy and significantly reduced its opportunities to sell its goods in Serbia.

The Croatian Government was authorized with an emergency bill to undertake provisional measures to protect the interests of the republic and repair the damage caused by the Serbia protectionist measures or the damage that may be caused by the protectionist measures of some other republics. In this way the government was authorized to determine which legal and physical entities from the territories of other republics should pay an additional tax on the sale of goods and services or a special tax on the promotion of firms, business premises, building land, holiday camps, and villas. A possibility was also envisaged for exemptions and rebates of tax on the goods and services and duties on imported goods that would substitute goods from Serbia. The government may also take other measures to rectify disturbances in the market.

The Ministry for Trade mentioned as a possibility, specific protectionist measures the abolition of discounts on landing charges enjoyed by domestic airliners, discounts for the use of roads in Croatia (for those who reside or are registered in Serbia), and the introduction of a special tax on the admission of tankers delivering oil for the Naftagas refinery to the port of Omisalj. If Serbia stops delivering electric power, Croatia will consider as a protectionist measure the closure of oil pipelines for the Naftagas refinery.

The liberalization of imports and import concessions would help toward imports of the goods in shortage, the goods that have up to now been coming from Serbia. This applies to cars, non-ferrous metals, some semifinished products, and so forth. What is also envisaged is the retention or a possible redistribution of the basic sales tax and tax on other sources of revenue for the federation (import duties). The suspension of suppliers from Serbia accompanied with special export stimuli for those producers who have been predominantly turned toward the Serbian market is mentioned as the last retaliatory step, as well as the setting up of sale centers on the border with Serbia in which goods sold in Serbia would be sold at lower prices.

In addition to granting these powers to the government, the Assembly also amended the law on the social control of prices to enable the government, in case the economic interests of Croatia were affected by the moves of the Serbian and the federal governments, to prevent the application of federal laws on prices and put them under its own control.

Serbia Deems FEC Economic Policy Unacceptable

LD1712145990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1047 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The proposed Macroeconomic policy of the Federal Executive Committee for next year is not acceptable, the Executive Council of Serbia stated today.

The explanation for this negative assessment is that the proposed macroeconomic policy ensures neither the stabilization of economic activity nor the restructuring of industry, and it does not create the conditions for the revitalization of production and development but leads to the further exacerbation and deepening of economic, social and regional problems. As a result of all this, it is not possible either to support or to implement this policy of the federal government, the Executive Council of the Assembly of Serbia stated.

According to this assessment, there is virtually no single positive economic feature, and the basic goals and tasks of this year's macroeconomic policy are nowhere near being achieved, especially as regards money and loans, prices, foreign trade, taxes, and agriculture, as the list read.

Serb Parties Given Airtime in 2d-Round Voting

AU1712172690 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Within the framework of the election campaign for the second round of voting for deputies to the Assembly of Serbia, party candidates will have the opportunity to promote themselves and their manifestos on Radio Belgrade programs. According to a decision by our house's programming board, all party candidates who are going into the second round of voting will be presented according to where their constituencies are situated. All 60 Belgrade candidates will have 15 minutes each on programs carried on Radio 202 and candidates in other areas of Serbia will present themselves in a similar way on the programs of local radio stations.

From 1630 to 1830 [1520-1730 GMT] tomorrow, Tuesday, guests on the first channel of Radio Belgrade will be representatives of the Socialist Party of Serbia and the united opposition and a representative of the independent candidates. Party representatives will also be talking at the same times and on the same channel on Thursday 20 December.

In the meantime, political news programs will report on party activity. As the law requires, all this will last until the electoral blackout which begins for the second round of voting at midnight on Thursday.

Opposition Claims Election Abuse

AU1712173490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] The United Serbian Opposition is dissatisfied with the attitude of representatives of official organs and Belgrade Television to the presentation of the candidates and parties which will be participating in the second round of the elections on 23 December. This was said, among other things, at a news conference held by the heads of several opposition parties. Dragan Stavljanin has the details:

[Stavljanin] Informing journalists about the outcome of talks between representatives of Belgrade Television and the united opposition, Professor Nebojsa Popov, leader of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, said that the opposition had demanded the same treatment for all candidates and parties which are going into the second round. However, only the promotion of candidates and not parties was accepted.

According to Nebojsa Popov's interpretation, the Socialist Party of Serbia has refrained from presenting the party. So it was finally concluded that since the Socialists did not want what the opposition wanted then it would be in a privileged position.

As Popov said, after marathon talks, the opposition accepted the minimum that four of its representatives would appear this evening and Thursday [20 December] on Belgrade Television.

Professor Dragan Veselinov, leader of the People's Peasant Party, thought that it was the television's intention to forcibly extend the electoral blackout and to create the impression that the elections in Serbia had already been decided and that the opposition had nothing else to demand and was in disarray. Veselinov pointed out the fact that, so to speak, the public was not being informed about opposition meetings. Because of all this, representatives of the opposition had agreed, as Dragan Veselinov said, to schedule a demonstration in Belgrade against abuse by the television. Even though they did not think that this was the best method, they had been forced into this, as Dragan Veselinov stressed.

Milenko Radic, general secretary of the Serbian Renewal Movement and member of the republican Electoral Commission, spoke about the commission's work. He stressed that in 80 percent of the cases, voters committees had not recorded how many voting slips they had received. The new records of results had not been signed by representatives of the opposition.

He gave the example of constituency 217 in Kosovo in which Zoran Sokolovic was elected as deputy. According to Milenko Radic, this area had 61 voters committees but only 51 of these were specified in the records of the results, with no explanation as to what happened to the results of the other 10. It was established that there was a surplus of 4,500 voting slips for president of the republic and 1,520 for deputies in this constituency but

no one knows what happened to them, Radic thought. He claimed that he was told by the Electoral Commission that there are no records about how many voting slips there were and that slips could be printed by the constituencies, which numbered 250.

Radic stressed that all this showed that there had been quite a lot of abuse in the first round of the elections.

Kosovo Democratic Alliance Official on Serb Vote

LD1412184590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1237 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Excerpts] Pristina, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—The Democratic Alliance of Kosovo [Demokratski Savez Kosova—DSK] cannot recognize the validity and legitimacy of the elections in Serbia because Albanians did not take part in them. The outcome of the elections in Kosovo is a political defeat for the current Serbian policies because Albanians gave their absolute support to the call for their boycott.

This was stated at a news conference today by Dr. Fehmi Agani member of the top leadership of the DSK, he expressed the hope that "The democratic public in Yugoslavia and the world will not accept the legitimacy of the elections in which in Kosovo only 15 percent of the population took part and the majority Albanian population did not."

Agani gave his analysis of the Serbian elections. He does not consider them "a major victory" for the Socialist Party (of Serbia) and a choice of Milosevic for president, rather they are, in Agani's view, the result of the electorate's fear of change and the ill-preparedness of the opposition. [passage omitted]

Commenting on the Albanians' failure to seize the opportunity of having as many as 30 deputies in the Serbian parliament, Dr. Fehmi Agani said that his organization did not regret this. Stating that everything had been set up for the abuse of the elections, he said that "those who think that Albanians can be content with crumbs or small mercies are mistaken. They want to be equal."

Today all the demands of this and other parties rallying Albanians in Yugoslavia were reiterated, that in Kosovo "the state of emergency should be lifted, the legitimate government returned, dismissed Albanians given back their jobs, that the destruction of cultural and other institutions by the Serbian authorities should be stopped, and the information blockade removed." These, among others, are all reasons why Albanians will not, as Agani said, take part in the second round of the elections in Serbia, either. [passage omitted]

Albanian Boycott of Kosovo Elections Viewed

AU1812105190 Skopje FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT in Albanian 12 Dec 90 pp 1, 4

[Blerim Reka and Emin Azemi report: "Nonparticipation of the Albanians—Elections Fail"]

[Excerpt] Pristina, 11 Dec—Serbia's elections in Kosovo, as expected, failed. This was because Albanian voters did not turn out to the polls on Sunday [9 December]; the basic condition of the participations of a majority of voters was therefore not met, and the first round of the elections failed except in four constituencies, where four new deputies, Momcilo Trajkovic, Zivorad Igic, Redzep Hodza, and Zoran Sokolovic (all of the Socialist Party of Serbia [SPS]) won seats in the Serbian parliament. In 30 other constituencies, no candidate won because of the failure to achieve a majority following the Albanians' nonparticipation in the elections. Election observers in Kosovo even calculated that these four deputies represent the maximum number of parliamentary seats the Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo can secure, because the four won a majority of votes in areas with the greatest concentrations of Serbs, Montenegrins, and Goranci (Leposavic, Gracanica, Kosovo Polje, and Obilic). Even the first commentaries from the Serbian side correspond to this forecast of a maximum of four Serbo-Montenegrin seats for Kosovo in the Serbian parliament, because the first statements of representatives of the SPS stated that the Albanians, by failing to go to the polls, lost the chance of obtaining 30 seats in the Serbian parliament! The question arises of why Zoran Sokolovic, the current president of the Serbian Assembly, did not stand as a candidate in his birthplace near Vranje but in Leposavic. Was he frightened of not winning in his home town? What is even more surprising, the first round of the elections even failed in the ethnically almost purely Serbian commune of Zubin Potok and in Titova Mitrovica, which is led by the Albanian SPS leader Mehmet Ajeti.

The Tragic Balance of an Anniversary

The increased presence of foreign delegations observing the elections in Serbia and of many journalists from world news agencies was noticeable in Kosovo on Sunday and in recent days. On Sunday, one of these delegations, that of the U.S. observers, talked with members of the Kosovo Democratic Alliance and the Kosovo opposition, while it is said that a delegation of the European Parliament will arrive in Kosovo before the end of the week.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the UN Charter of Human Rights, the Pristina Branch of the Helsinki Committee issued a communique to the public summarizing spine-chilling data on the tragic violations of human (Albanian) rights and freedoms in Kosovo. In the last 10 years, 100 Albanians have been killed by the police merely for asking for democracy, equality, justice, and freedom, and more than 400 have been wounded, some of them remaining invalids for life; 35 Albanian soldiers have been returned in coffins from military service in the Yugoslav People's Army; more than 700,000 have been persecuted by the police; more than 500,000 have been convicted for political offenses and three times as many for political misdemeanors; more than 33,300 Albanians have been held in isolation; and

one Albanian worker in three has been forcibly dismissed from work. Albanians' homes are raided, their telephones are tapped, and the passports of tens of thousands of them have been confiscated. They are denied leading positions in the economy, work in the health service, and work in the private sector, and they cannot occupy political posts, the Helsinki Committee Pristina Branch's communique to the public states.

The communique also states that Kosovo was deprived by force of its territorial, political, and economic autonomy, and the representatives of its people were criminally prosecuted, imprisoned, and forced into exile despite their immunity as deputies guaranteed by the Constitution. The Albanians' rights to education and the cultivation of their national culture have also been curtailed; they are deprived of awareness of their historic tradition, communication within their national community, and media in their mother tongue. The Albanians are also denied the right to join political parties, and it seems that they alone in Yugoslavia will not have the opportunity to hold and take part in free and multiparty elections.

At a time when the world is recording important achievements in the field of human rights and freedoms, the Albanians in Kosovo cower under the lash of the Serbian occupier, without anyone to whom they can complain. A people in Europe's Balkans is undergoing and suffering brutal injustice and a violation of fundamental human rights and freedoms, and is expecting to confront an open plan of genocide against the Albanians. The Albanians only have the right to die and leave their lands in as large numbers as possible to fulfill medieval Serbian aspirations to dominate this land, in spite of the fact that the population is 90-percent Albanian. They are further treated as a national minority and not a divided people, the Helsinki Committee Pristina Branch's communique addressed to the international public on International Human Rights Day concludes. [passage omitted]

Slovene Accusations Against Army Rejected

LD1412145190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0945 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Dec (TANJUG)—Today, the press bureau of the SFRY Presidency issued a statement in connection with an increasing number of letters which the Slovene state bodies have been sending to SFRY Presidency bodies. These letters have been alleging that the Yugoslav People's Army [JNA] is carrying out unusual activities in Slovenia which, in turn, are putting into jeopardy citizens' liberty and Slovene constitutional rights. The statement speaks about JNA intentions to induce fear among Slovene citizens on the eve of the plebiscite, as well as about the Presidency's denouncement of such conduct.

Here is the bureau statement:

"The Slovene leadership has been sending letters to the SFRY Presidency and to its president, Borisav Jovic, for some time. These letters, aimed at creating a certain political atmosphere before the plebiscite on Slovene independence, are full of insinuations, doubts, and accusations about the JNA. All these letters, as well as press releases, contain various falsehoods and spread rumors about allegedly suspicious JNA activities in Slovenia. They give rise to unfounded claims that the JNA is threatening Slovenia and its citizens. Following this, demands are being made to the SFRY Presidency to put an end to these nonexistent unconstitutional JNA activities and to guarantee that the JNA will not undertake similar activities.

"Despite the fact that such claims are unfounded, which was made clear to the Slovene Presidency, allegations and speculation about the JNA are continuously being used for political purposes. So, similar falsehoods are still being spread, even after President Borisav Jovic replied to Slovene President Milan Kucan that the information Kucan mentioned is incorrect and that there is no cause for alarm, but that, indeed, sources of such informations should be uncovered. In his 6 December address at the joint session of all three chambers of the Slovene Assembly, the president of the Presidency of the Slovene Republic said in connection with the draft law on the plebiscite that he has information which implies that the Army has not yet given up its ambition to interfere in Slovene political affairs even with its units. Janez Jansa, defense minister of the Slovene Republic, said at a press conference held on 7 December that he has information that JNA special defence units are being removed from other parts of Yugoslavia to Slovenia and they have been given the green light to use gas and firearms.

"Obviously, all this is being done with the intention of creating an atmosphere of fear by the JNA in Slovenia before the plebiscite, and to drum into the Slovene people that joint life in Yugoslavia is impossible. This would certainly have an impact on how Slovene citizens vote in the forthcoming plebiscite. The SFRY Presidency has denouced such actions and made it clear that those disseminating false information and those spreading rumors uncritically or maliciously are responsible for the consequences which could arise from the falsehoods and rumors," the statement of the SFRY Presidency's Press Bureau concludes.

Slovene Presidency Deems Army Actions 'Threat'

LD1812030590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 0108 GMT 18 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Slovenia on Monday [17 December] announced that it had sent a letter to the Yugoslav State Presidency. In the letter, the Presidency assessed statements by Yugoslav Defence Secretary Veljko Kadijevic and some activities of the Yugoslav People's Army as a threat to peace and security in Slovenia.

The Slovenian Presidency sent the letter on December 5, but made statement about it on Monday because the Yugoslav State Presidency had announced, in the meantime, that the Slovenian leadership on several occasions approached the Presidency with imputations on the Army and complaints about dubious activities of the Yugoslav People's Army in the republic. The Slovenian Presidency thus wanted to explain its stand to the public.

In its letter, the Slovenian Presidency accused the Yugoslav People's Army of transferring Army units towards Slovenia, handing out weapons and ammunition to officers, cutting short leaves of military personnel and so on. The conclusion of the Slovenian Presidency was that the Army was being used in peacetime on Slovenian territory, for which the Slovenian Presidency saw no legal basis.

The Slovenian Presidency's statement on Monday said that Yugoslav State Presidency President Borisav Jovic had replied to the Slovenian letter saying that the claims about the dubious activities of the Army were not true.

The Slovenian Presidency nevertheless said that the present situation in the republic was normal and that Slovenia would see any violent intervention of the Yugoslav People's Army as an occupation. Slovenia wants the Yugoslav People's Army to respect the democratic changes which happened in it and other Yugoslav republics.

Slovene Party Calls for Plebiscite Boycott

LD1712181790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1615 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Ljubljana, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—"The Slovene Alliance for Worldwide Democracy" [Slovenacki Savez za Svetsku Demokratiju] today called on Slovene citizens to boycott the 23 December plebiscite. The statement, signed by party chairman Boris Valencic, claims that the positive outcome of the plebscite would cause "an international incident, which, by order by the U.S. intelligence service CIA, has been prepared for some time by Slovene mercenaries."

The statement alleges that in the case of the positive outcome of the plebiscite, Slovenia will loose its neutral status, which it currently enjoys in Yugoslavia, its wholeness and the achieved degree of sovereignty.

The statement stresses the efforts of this party for a peaceful and democratic process of decentralization in Yugoslavia and for the affirmation of interests of nations within their republics, and supports the Yugoslav People's Army as a factor of stability and peace in the Balkans and Yugoslavia.

Montenegrin Presidential Election Results Issued

Majority Not Won; Repeat Vote on 23 Dec

LD1712183590 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1627 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Titograd, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—[passage omitted] The official results of the Montenegrin presidential elections were announced today. Momir Bulatovic received 42.22 percent of the votes; Ljubisa Stankovic 16.38 percent; and Novak Kilibarda 8.32 percent. Although Bulatovic received the most votes, he failed to receive the required majority. Hence, the presidential elections will be repeated on 23 December. Ljubisa Stankovic is the other candidate for Montenegrin president.

On the same day, Montegrin citizens will elect two Presidency members from the following list: Hazbo Nuhanovic, Montenegrin league of communists [LC] candidate; Slobodan Vujacic, independent candidate; and Bozo Kovac and Slavko Perovic, candidates of the Alliance of Reformist Forces. Svetozar Marovic and Milica Pejanovic-Djurisic, both candidates of the Montenegrin LC, were elected Presidency members in the first round of voting.

Communists Win Assembly Seat Majority

LD1712171890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Titograd, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—The Montenegrin Electoral Commission today officially confirmed that after yesterday's repeat voting at nine polling stations, the Montenegrin League of Communists has emerged as winner of the 9 December elections.

Out of 125 deputy seats in Montenegro's future multiparty parliament, the communists have won 83; the Alliance of Reform Forces 17; the Democratic Coalition of Muslims and Albanians, 13; and the People's Party 12. Out of 403,000 registered voters in Montenegro, 305,000 or over 75 percent cast their vote.

Macedonian Party Vice President Forced To Resign

LD1712015390 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2020 GMT 16 Dec 90

[Text] Titov Vales, 16 Dec (TANJUG)—The Assembly of the VMRO-Democratic Party for Macedonian National Unity today expressed a vote of no confidence in its Vice President Vladimir Golubovski and dismissed him from this position.

At recent multiparty elections in Macedonia, the VMRO received the majority of votes and will have the largest number of deputies (37) in the future single-chamber parliament.

In a statement issued this evening, the VMRO says that by his work and public statements Golubovski has damaged the party and especially its efforts to overcome

crisis situations caused by failures to observe statutory regulations and the VMRO program goals. Vladimir Golubovski had tendered his resignation in the meantime, which the Assembly accepted today.

Golubovski is no longer a member of the VRMO Central Administrative Committee, either. In a statement to Skopje Radio and TANJUG he stressed that his dismissal was designed to discredit him just to satisfy personal ambitions of some of the Administrative Committee members. Golubovski has also rejected, as he put it, unfounded attacks by the representatives of the VMRO municipal sections.

Reform Alliance Committee Meets, Issues Statement

LD1712164190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0905 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—In a statement from its session today, the Main Committee of the Alliance of Reform Forces of Yugoslavia for Yugoslavia stressed "the need for participation on the part of members of the opposition on the eve of the second electoral round, as well as their duty to develop consistently the alliance's programmed commitments and preserve its political identity."

It was also concluded, the statement says, that immediately after the second round of elections its organizational and political preparations for the coming municipal, regional, and federal elections should start.

6,000 Shipbuilders Stage Strike in 10 Shipyards

LD1712171290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1406 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Summary] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—"About 6,000 workers from 10 shipyards in Serbia have stopped work, requesting that they be compensated for the losses which have arisen as a result of an overvalued and unrealistic exchange rate for the dinar against foreign currencies, and that they be allowed to carry on with normal production. At noon today in the Brodograditelj [shipbuilder] Stadium in Belgrade, a protest meeting of over 1,000 employees from these collectives was organized at which the basic demands of the strikers were also highlighted."

Most of Serbia's river shipbuilding industry is geared to export markets and has consequently been adversely affected by an inappropriate monetary policy. Bank interest rates of up to 40 percent are also hampering production. The federal government is being asked to provide $30 million as urgent financial assistance to normalize production and ensure the payment of personal incomes.

Markovic, PLO Leader Discuss Gulf Crisis

LD1712183290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1630 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, president of the Federal Executive Council, today received in Belgrade Mahmud Rida 'Abbas, a member of the PLO Executive Committee.

Abu Mazin informed the president of the activities which Arab sectors are undertaking to initiate as urgently as possible a dialogue on a peaceful solution to the gulf crisis. In this connection he set out their expectations that Yugoslavia, as president of the Nonaligned Movement, should play a significant role in this.

Ante Markovic stressed that Yugoslavia has from the beginning been advocating a peaceful solution to the gulf crisis and that it will soon take concrete steps to help open up a dialogue between the parties directly involved in the crisis.

It was assessed in the talks that a peaceful solution to the gulf crisis could have a positive impact on the process of resolving the Middle East crisis and the Palestinian question.

Loncar Leaves for EC Consultations in Brussels

LD1712163490 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1114 GMT 17 Dec 90

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Dec (TANJUG)—A Yugoslav delegation, headed by Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar, left for Brussels this morning to attend a meeting of the Council for Cooperation between Yugoslavia and the European Community on Tuesday [18 December].

The council, which is the highest mixed body for monitoring and improving cooperation between Yugoslavia and the E.C., meets once in a year at the foreign ministerial level. The E.C. will be represented at the council session tomorrow by Italian Foreign Minister Gianni de Michelis. The session is to consider Yugoslavia's February 14 proposal for signing an agreement on the country's associated status with the Community. A declaration is expected to be adopted on the further promotion of relations between Yugoslavia and the Community.

Also to be discussed are greater resources within the "Phare" program from which Yugoslavia has so far received 50 million dollars primarily for the financial rehabilitation of its banking system. The resources are believed to be quadrupled next year for a much wider range of purposes.

What is most important for Yugoslavia, however, is the fact that now, for the first time, it is to receive budgetary resources from the E.C. by the signing of the third financial protocol. The 975-million ECU [European Currency Unit] protocol is to be signed for the next five years. The resources being earmarked primarily for the

modernization of Yugoslavia's transport infrastructure, the council may be expected to peg the financial protocol to an agreement on transport that should regulate the questions of transit through Yugoslavia for E.C. forwarders and the terms for Yugoslav forwarders on E.C. markets.

Uruguayan Foreign Minister in Belgrade for Talks

PY1512020690 Montevideo Radio El Espectador Network in Spanish 2300 GMT 14 Dec 90

[Excerpt] Uruguayan Foreign Minister Hector Gros Espiell has concluded official talks in Belgrade, and he has announced that Uruguay and Yugoslavia will sign agreements to eliminate visas, guarantee investments, and avoid double taxation on imports.

During his official visit, Gros Espiell informed the Yugoslav Government about the process of forming the Southern Cone common market, Mercosur, and about trade possibilities it will represent for Yugoslavia, which heads the Nonaligned Movement.

Following talks with Yugoslav President Borisav Jovic, Prime Minister Ante Markovic, and Foreign Secretary Budimir Loncar, the representatives of the two countries decided to conduct regular political visits between the two countries. Gros Espiell said Uruguay has not yet decided to join the Nonaligned Movement as a full time member; it has participated in this organization as an observer since (?1974). [passage omitted]